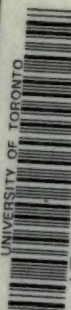


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AMERICAN ACADEMY
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VOLUME XI

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THE POLITICAL PROPAGANDA OF 44-30 B. C.¹

KENNETH SCOTT.

THAT period which extends from the death of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March in 44 B. C. to the suicide of Antony in Alexandria, some fourteen years later, was filled with almost constant warfare attended by nearly every trick of political propaganda. Any history of the period just mentioned must perforce deal almost constantly with the charges, counter-charges, manifestos, pamphlets, lampoons, and the activities of secret emissaries on both sides, in short with the propaganda by which Octavian, Antony, Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, and Sextus Pompey tried to win the support of the public or the troops. It seems, however, that a study of our sources will give us a clearer insight into these matters than will be found in the general histories touching on the period.

Active propaganda in an attempt to win public opinion was surely most pronounced at various stages in the rise of Octavian to political ascendancy, and these stages may be roughly classified as follows :

(1) The period of ill-will between Octavian and Antony, which lasted from about the middle of May in 44, when the former entered Rome to claim his inheritance, to the formation of the triumvirate in November of 43 B. C., a period of bitter hostility, broken only by a few months of outward reconciliation during the summer of 44.

(2) The Perusine War of 41-40, with its aftermath of suspicions between Octavian and Antony which were allayed at the peace of Brundisium in the early Autumn of 40 B. C.

(3) The war with Sextus Pompeius from early in 38 to the third of September, 36 B. C.

(4) The final struggle between the two remaining triumvirs (after Lepidus' deposition in 36) from 32 to the surrender of Alexandria on the first of August, 30 B. C.

Octavian upon his arrival at Rome in the year 44 B. C. found that he was blocked at every turn by Mark Antony, who tried to prevent the young man's formal acceptance of

¹ The author desires to express his thanks to Professors A. C. Johnson, M. B. Ogle, and R. S. Rogers, for their

kindness in reading this article in manuscript and for their helpful suggestions.

the inheritance and adoption stipulated in Julius Caesar's will, seized the money of the deceased dictator and opposed Octavian's candidacy for the tribunate. They both, however, in spite of their secret hostility, did their best to conceal their quarrel from the public.¹ In fact the troops forced a short reconciliation between the two, but their interests continued to clash, and on October 5th or 6th Antony precipitated matters by accusing Octavian of suborning men to murder him. NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS, an acquaintance of Augustus, probably used the emperor's *Memoirs* as the principal basis of chapters 1 to 18 and 28 to 31 of his *Life of Augustus*,² and his account of the alleged plot is the most detailed, though it shows a strong bias in favor of Octavian. Antony, according to Nicolaus,³ arrested some soldiers, making it publicly known that they had been sent to kill him, while he hinted that Octavian was behind the plot. Antony's friends hastened to the consul's home, and armed troops were summoned. Octavian, learning late that afternoon of the attempted assassination and attributing the plot to the liberators, sent a message offering himself to stand guard at Antony's bedside. The latter, however, refused to admit the man and rudely sent him away, but not before the messenger had overheard Antony's guards state that Octavian was the instigator of the plot, a remark which he duly reported to his master. Octavian was thunderstruck at the news, but saw that these proceedings were aimed against himself. Thereupon he consulted his friends and Philippus, his stepfather, and Atia, his mother, who advised him to withdraw from Rome until the affair had been investigated. But he rejected this plan lest he thus incriminate himself.

On the next day, therefore, Octavian went about his affairs as usual, but Antony, calling a council of friends, informed them that he was aware of earlier plotting on the part of Octavian and that on this occasion one of the assassins, induced by bribes, had revealed the conspiracy and the man's accomplices had been seized. The members of Antony's council asked to see the captives, but Antony said it was not necessary since they had confessed, and changed the subject. Without proof the group was unwilling to take any action, so Antony dismissed them and two or three days later departed for Brundisium. His friends dropped the question of the plot, and none of the conspirators, if such there were, was ever seen. But in any case Octavian, displaying genuine or pretended indignation, now had a good excuse to seek a means to protect himself against what he claimed were his rival's treacherous plots. He lost no time in turning the whole matter to his own advantage by appealing to the veterans at Calatia by "telling them how unjustly his father had perished and he himself had been plotted against".⁴ So began the series of similar charges directed by Antony and Octavian against one another. VELLEIUS, patently pro-Caesarian throughout his history, concurs with NICOLAUS in taking the side of Octavian,

¹ DIO, xlv, 11, 1.

³ *Βίος Καίσαρος*, 30-31.

² C. M. HALL's edition, *Smith College Classical Studies*, no. IV, preface.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

writing : " Soon Antony wickedly began to pretend that he had been assailed by Octavian's plots, and in this Antony's deception was revealed to his discredit. " ¹

The account of APPIAN ² shows the gravity of Antony's charge and the varying opinions of the public. In general his story agrees with the narrative of NICOLAUS. He adds the suggestion that Antony may have discovered agents of Octavian in his camp and made of the plot to thwart his plans a plot against his life. He also points out that some people of penetration realized that it was to Octavian's advantage that Antony should live to be a checkmate to the party of Brutus and Cassius. Still, most people, in view of the shameful treatment which Octavian had received at Antony's hands, gave credence to the accusation and resented a conspiracy against the consul's life.

Beyond question Octavian was quick to grasp the seriousness of the situation, for, according to APPIAN, he protested his innocence on oath in public and private and railed against Antony and his doorkeepers when he could not obtain admission to take him to task to his face. But Octavian, young as he was, was possessed of no little political astuteness, for with deep emotion he informed the people that if he perished his death would be the result of Antony's intrigues. The multitude was impressed and underwent a profound change of opinion, although some people, who had doubtless had their fill of propaganda in the previous years of strife, felt that both sides were only shamming in order to carry out some plot against their respective enemies. And others thought Antony was only seeking to obtain a large body-guard and cause Octavian to lose the goodwill of the veterans.

PLUTARCH ventures no opinion on the truth or falsity of Antony's accusation, but he does give one additional piece of information : Antony heard a report that Octavian was plotting against him a few days after dreaming that his right hand was struck by a thunderbolt. ³ It does not seem improbable that the omen of the thunderbolt was a story set afoot by Antony or his sympathizers to impress the superstitious with a divine indication of Octavian's alleged plot.

Other ancient writers, however, were apparently convinced of Octavian's guilt ; among them is SENECA, who writes that the young man of eighteen had already through his plots attacked the consul, Mark Antony. ⁴ But certainly the most damaging evidence against Octavian is the attitude of CICERO, who seems to have had no doubt about his guilt. In a letter written to Cornificius, CICERO says that if he did not know that reports of happenings in the city were being forwarded to his friend he would himself give a full account of the attempt made by Octavian. CICERO adds that most people thought Antony had invented the charge to have an excuse to seize the young man's property, but that men of penetration and patriots believed in and approved the alleged attempt at assassination. Then he expresses high hopes of the young Octavian, explains that popular detestation prevented

¹ ii, 60, 3.

² iii, 39 ; references to APPIAN are to his *Civil Wars*.

³ *Ant.*, xvi, 3-4.

⁴ *De Clementia*, i, 9, 1.

Antony from making the affair public, and records Antony's departure to Brundisium to win by bribery the four Macedonian legions.¹

A little after the date of this letter Antony called a meeting of the Senate for the 24th of November and, although he was himself absent from the meeting, he issued an edict which concluded as follows: "If anyone has not been present, all men will be able to consider that he was the instigator of an attempt to destroy me, and the author of the most abandoned counsels." After citing these words of Antony's edict, CICERO replied thus: "What are 'abandoned counsels'? Are they those which relate to recovering the freedom of the Roman people? As to these counsels I confess that I am and have been Caesar's instigator and advocate. Yet he had no need of anyone's advice, but, as the saying goes, I spurred a willing (*currentem*) horse. Of your destruction, indeed, what good man would not be the instigator, since in that consisted the safety and life of all good citizens and the freedom and dignity of the Roman people?"² To be sure it is quite possible that CICERO is too confident in believing that Octavian really acted upon any hints or frank suggestions which he may have made to him.

SUETONIUS appears to believe in the plot: "And so, upon the instigation of certain people, he hired assassins to murder Antony, and, when the plot was detected, since he in turn feared danger, by giving as a bounty all the money he could, he mustered veterans for his own assistance and for that of the State."³ The whole question was never cleared up in antiquity and seems incapable of solution. It is true that the assassination of Antony probably would have united the Pompeians against Octavian, but, as RICE HOLMES has pointed out,⁴ there is the possibility that Octavian felt he might with the support of the Caesarians be a match for the Senate and the liberators. At any rate the incident brings out clearly the necessity felt by both Antony and Octavian for winning the favor of the public. Each tried his best to discredit his rival, and the whole affair precipitated the struggle for the control of the legions and of Italy.

On the 9th of October, Antony departed for Brundisium to receive the legions from Macedonia. Octavian, it would seem, had emissaries at Brundisium who reported to him that the army there and the colonized soldiers "were in a rage at Antony because he neglected the murder of Caesar, and declared that if they could they would come to his [Octavian's] aid."⁵ Octavian at once sent men into the cities colonized by his father to report his wrongs and to discover the feelings in each city. And he likewise despatched to the camp of Antony certain people who, as traders, were to mingle with those who were especially bold, and covertly to scatter pamphlets among the crowd.⁶ NICOLAUS gives the

¹ *Ad Fam.*, xii, 23, 2.

² *Phil.*, iii, 8, 19.

³ *Aug.*, x, 3; his source may well have been the letters of Mark Antony which he used frequently in his *Life*

of Augustus.

⁴ *The Architect of the Roman Empire*, i, 1928, p. 27, n. 3.

⁵ *APPIAN*, iii, 40.

⁶ *Id.*, iii, 31.

following account of Octavian's instructions to his agents: "And of those who followed him he sent to Brundisium others who excelled in foresight and daring, to persuade, if they could, the troops who had just arrived from Macedonia to embrace his cause and to be mindful of his father, Caesar, and in no wise to betray his son. And he told his agents, if they could not do this openly, to write out these matters and distribute the notices everywhere, that the men might pick them up and read them. And that they might take his side he entreated the rest besides by filling them with hopes of their rewards when he should hold power."¹

As soon as Antony came to Brundisium he found that Octavian's spies had been at work. He found fault with his soldiers for not arresting and handing over to him the agents of the "rash boy" who had been trying to stir up discord and threatened to find the emissaries himself.² Thereupon he put to death some of the more seditious of his soldiers and thereby gave Octavian's agents just the chance they desired. They hastened to circularize the camp with a flood of pamphlets which drew attention to the cruelty and stinginess of Antony, at the same time recalling the memory of Julius Caesar and inviting the soldiers to test the liberality of Octavian by joining his side. Antony was alarmed at this move and strove, now by rewards and now by threats, to lay hands on the propagandists, and when he had no success he became furious, since he thought that they were concealed by his own men. When, however, he received tidings of Octavian's activity in Rome and among the colonies of veterans, he was frightened and expressed his regrets to the army for the punishment which he had meted out in the interests of discipline. At the same time he protested that he had displayed neither cruelty nor stinginess.³

While Antony was thus employed at Brundisium, Octavian had succeeded in raising an army of veterans, the *evocati*, by the promise of 500 *denarii* to each man and, entering Rome, he there addressed the people, whom he reminded of the services of his father Julius. At the same time he made a lengthy, though moderate, defence of himself and also preferred charges against his rival.⁴ Very likely his defence consisted in the main of a refutation of the charge that he had attempted the assassination of the consul.

When Antony learned of Octavian's doings among the veterans and in Rome, he tried, as we have seen, to make his peace with his own soldiers. Next he hastened to Rome and called a meeting of the Senate for November 24th, while in the meantime he issued edicts defaming the character of his rival. We happen to know something of their contents, thanks to Suetonius, who says that Antony taunted Octavian with having won adoption by Caesar through unnatural relations with him.⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, 31; Dio, xlv, 12, 2, says that Octavian sent certain agents with money to reach Brundisium before Antony and secure his soldiers.

² Appian, iii, 43.

³ *Id.*, iii, 44.

⁴ Dio, xlv, 12, 4-5.

⁵ *Aug.*, lxviii.

That the statement of SÜTONIUS belongs to this occasion we know from CİCERO'S third *Philippic*, delivered on the 20th of December, 44, in which he takes up the accusations made by Antony : " But how insulting he is in his edicts, how uncouth, how ignorant ! In the first place he has heaped upon Caesar abuse drawn from the recollection of his own lewdness and debauchery. For who is more chaste than this young man, who more modest ? What more illustrious example of the purity of former times have we in youth ? Moreover, who is more unchaste than the man who slanders him ? " ¹ Again, in his thirteenth *Philippic*, CİCERO refers to the edicts as follows : " For it was the incredible and divine worth of Caesar which checked the cruel and frenzied attacks of a brigand. At that time that brigand in his madness thought that by his edicts he was injuring Caesar, not knowing that whatever falsehoods he uttered against a most innocent young man were in truth recoiling upon the memory of his own boyhood. " ² It would not be safe to put too much confidence in CİCERO'S defense of Octavian'S character, for he was hardly an intimate, or in a position to know about the young man'S private life. NICOLAUS of Damascus, to be sure, eulogizes Octavian for the modesty which " he displayed most conspicuously in his actions throughout his whole life. " ³ Unfortunately, as we shall see later (p. 40), Augustus does not seem to have deserved such praise, and it is likely that there is an element of probability in Antony'S charge, for I think that the study of all Antony'S accusations will show that he was shrewd enough as a rule not to manufacture falsehoods out of whole cloth. ⁴

To this same period we must assign the sneers of Antony at Octavian'S ancestry, reported in SÜTONIUS as follows :

Aug., ii, 3: " Mark Antony upbraids him about his great-grandfather, calling him a freedman, a rope-maker from the district of Thurii, and about a grandfather who was, he claimed, a money changer. Nor have I found anything further concerning the paternal ancestors of Augustus. "

Aug., iii, 1 : " C. Octavius was from the beginning of his life a man of great wealth and reputation, so that I am indeed surprised that he is reported by some to have been a money-changer and even to have been among those who distributed bribes and performed other tasks in the Campus. For reared as he was amidst affluence he both readily obtained and splendidly discharged public offices. "

Aug., vii, 1 : " But he also is often called Thurinus in the letters of Mark Antony by way of insult, and he himself merely replies that he is astonished that his former name is held up to him as a reproach. "

Aug., iv, 2 : " But Antony likewise, looking down upon even the maternal stock of Augustus, upbraided him with the charge that his great-grandfather had been of African birth

¹ 6, 15.

² 9, 19.

³ *Op. cit.*, 13.

⁴ It was, however, evidently the customary thing in

politics then, as today, to defame the character of one'S opponent, for we find Calenus charging Cicero with effeminacy, licentiousness and impurity. DIO, xlv, 18, 3-6.

and had conducted now a perfumery shop and now a bakery at Aricia. Cassius Parmensis, indeed, in a certain *letter* thus twits Augustus for being the grandson not only of a baker but also of a money-changer: 'Your mother's meal came from a most vulgar bakery in Aricia; this was fashioned by a money-changer of Nerulum with hands discolored from changing coins.'"

The reference to the meanness of Octavian's birth on the maternal side at least, if not also on the paternal side, is to be assigned to the edicts issued by Antony during this period. CICERO speaks of them thus: "He reproaches with meanness of family the son of C. Caesar, whose natural father would even have been made consul, if life had lasted. 'A mother from Aricia' — you might think he was speaking of a mother from Tralles or Ephesus." ¹ He then writes with feeling of the contempt shown for those who came from the Italian municipalities and exalts the antiquity of Aricia, the good repute of its citizens and its contributions to Rome. Then he turns a torrent of abuse on Antony, asking him why he does not approve of a wife from Aricia, yet approves of one from Tusculum. He ridicules Antony on account of his wife's ancestry and because his father's wife, Numitoria, came from Fregellae, and finally leaves the whole question to Lucius Philippus, whose wife came from Aricia, and Caius Marcellus, who married the daughter of a woman of Aricia. ²

These accusations, then, against Octavian's ancestry are as follows:

A. On the paternal side:

1. His great-grandfather was a freedman and rope-maker from the district of Thurii (authority, Marcus Antonius), and Octavian was often called Thurinus in the letters (*in epistulis*) of Marcus Antonius.
2. His paternal grandfather was called a money-changer (authority, Marcus Antonius).
3. His father was called a money-changer (authority, *nonnulli* and a verse, perhaps by CASSIUS PARMENSIS), and was said to have been *inter divisores operasque campestris* (authority, *nonnulli*).

B. On the maternal side:

1. His great-grandfather was of African birth and kept first, a perfumery shop, and then a bake-shop at Aricia (authority, Marcus Antonius and a certain *epistula* of CASSIUS PARMENSIS), and Octavian's wife came from Aricia (authority, Marcus Antonius).

KALINKA suggests with great plausibility that Octavian's grandmother on his father's side may have been the daughter of a freedman who was a rope-maker from the district of Thurii. ³

¹ *Phil.*, iii, 6, 15.

² *Ibid.*, iii, 6, 15-17. CICERO is also reproached on the ground of base origin by Calenus; DIO, xlv, 4, 2-3.

³ E. KALINKA, *Die von Sueton berichteten Schmähungen auf Oktavian*, in *Sitzungsberichte der Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 197, 1922, 42. Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.*, vii, 1: "As an infant he was given the surname Thurinus in memory of the home of his ancestors..." and A. BLANCHET, *Thurinus, surnom de l'empereur Auguste*, in

Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1919, 134-142: the name would seem to have been associated with the city of Thurium in Lucania. DEONNA, *La Légende d'Octave-Auguste*, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 83, 1921, p. 35, n. 6 would connect the name in some fashion with the Etruscan Mercury, but I can see nothing convincing in his suggestion. Cf. SCOTT, *Mercur-Augustus und Horaz C. I, 2*, in *Hermes*, lxi, 1928, 26.

I am inclined to think that the epithet *argentarius* was applied by Marcus Antonius to the father of Octavian, and that it was intended as a sneer at the very wealthy Roman knight,¹ who, like the class in general, was active in business affairs.² Doubtless his rise in politics was due to the power of his money and its use in electioneering, a good enough ground for Antony to place him *inter divisores operasque campestris*.

This derogatory reference to Octavian's father as an *argentarius* was probably first made by Antony in his *edicta* or in *epistulae* written in 44 B. C. At the time of the proscriptions in 43 B. C. the verse "*Pater argentarius, ego Corintharius*" was set up on a statue of Octavian,³ a fact which indicates that Octavian's enemies were keeping alive the reflection on his ancestry which Antony seems first to have set afoot. With regard to Octavian's maternal ancestry it seems that the mother of Atia's father was perhaps the daughter of an "*Afer*" who had settled in Aricia.⁴

SUETONIUS, as we have seen, ascribes to CASSIUS PARMENSIS, a staunch supporter of Antony, the *epistula* quoted above which contained these reflections on Octavian (*Materna tibi farina est ex crudissimo Ariciae pistrino; hanc finxit manibus collybo decoloratis Nerulonensis mensarius*.) Now KALINKA has made the suggestion, which I am inclined to accept, that the *epistula* was not prose, but a work in iambic senarii:

Materna tibi farinast ex crudissimo

Ariciae pistrino, hanc finxit—

with a closing perhaps like this (SUETONIUS may have introduced changes)

decolor

*Collybo manus Nerulonensis mensarii.*⁵

If KALINKA is correct CASSIUS was the author of an *epistula* in verse. We must now consider the question of the authorship of the line ("*Pater argentarius, ego Corintharius*") which was placed on Octavian's statue and also of this *epigramma*:

Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit

aliquando ut vincat ludit assidue aleam.

which was circulated against Octavian during the Sicilian War in 36 B. C. KALINKA believes that both the single line placed on the statue and the two lines from the *epigramma* are compositions of CASSIUS, and so far I share his belief. I cannot, however, accept his suggestion that the single line on the statue, the two lines from the *epigramma*, and the senarii (if such they were) of the *epistula* (assigned to CASSIUS by SUETONIUS) were all part of one satire in the style of LUCILIUS, written by CASSIUS against Octavian.

KALINKA has himself pointed out the difference of person in the three fragments, once the *second* person ("*materna tibi*", etc.), then the *first* person ("*Pater argentarius ego Corin-*

¹ Cf. SUET., *Aug.*, iii, 1 quoted above, p. 12.

² On his wealth see NICOLAUS, *op. cit.*, 2, and VEL-
LEIUS, ii, 59, 2.

³ SUETONIUS, *Aug.*, lxx, 2. The authorship of the

verse will presently be considered.

⁴ KALINKA, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 45-48.

thiarius"), and finally the third person (" *Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit*, " etc.). The time of composition, moreover, seems to me to preclude the possibility that all three fragments belong to a single work. The *epistula* (" *Materna tibi* ", etc.) could have been written, and I believe was written, in 44 B. C. in support of Antony's slurs on the ancestry of Octavian, although it might, of course, have been composed later, let us say even at the same time as the *epigramma* (" *Postquam bis* ", etc.), which cannot antedate the Sicilian War with Sextus Pompey. But the single line in verse (" *Pater argentarius* ", etc.) was already written at the time of the proscription in 43 B. C., as SUETONIUS states, and can scarcely, therefore, belong with the lines from the *epigramma* dealing with the Sicilian War.

It is suggested by SHUCKBURGH in his edition of SUETONIUS' *Life of Augustus*, p. 8, and also by RANKIN in WESCOTT and RANKIN'S edition of the same work, p. 195, that the *epistula* of CASSIUS PARMENSIS was written between 35 and 31 B. C. when he and Antony were together in Alexandria. This is, of course, quite possible, but the *epistula* may also have been written earlier, even in the years 44 or 43. On p. 4 of his edition, SHUCKBURGH writes: "The slanders of Antony were apparently conveyed in letters principally written in the two or three years previous to the battle of Actium, which his friends or his enemies published." Now Antony's slur on the maternal ancestry of Octavian, at least, was written in 44 B. C., since CICERO replied to it in his third *Philippic*. Is it not also quite possible that all Antony's derogatory remarks on Octavian's lineage were expressed, for the first time at least, in 44 B. C.? I do not doubt, however, that the same statements were made later, in the period just before the battle of Actium.

With regard to CASSIUS as a poet we have some information. PSEUDO-ACRON on HORACE, *Epistles* I, 32, where *Cassi Parmensis opuscula* are mentioned, comments thus: "*Satiras scripsit— aliquot generibus stilum exercuit: inter quae opera elegia et epigrammata eius laudantur.*"¹

I agree with WEICHERT,² HOWARD,³ and KALINKA,⁴ that the *epigramma* on the Sicilian War (" *Postquam bis* ", etc.) may very likely have been written by CASSIUS, and so, too, the line placed on the statue of Octavian (" *Pater argentarius* ", etc.). If, then, we accept the line on the statue and the *epigramma* on the Sicilian War as the work of CASSIUS, and if we likewise accept Kalinka's theory that the *epistula* of CASSIUS was written in senarii, let us consider all these three fragments in connection with the remarks of PSEUDO-ACRON. PSEUDO-ACRON states that CASSIUS wrote satires, indeed different kinds of satires (" *aliquot generibus* "), and seems to make a distinction between *elegia*⁵ and *epigrammata*, at the same time apparently indicating that he wrote other kinds of satires. The two elegiac lines

¹ Cf. SHUCKBURGH, *op. cit.*, 8.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 45-48.

² *Commentatio II de Cassio Parmensi Poeta, Grimae*, 1834, 36 ff.

⁵ WEICHERT (*op. cit.*) thinks that certain anonymous verses given in SUETONIUS, *Aug.*, lxx, 1 belong to CASSIUS (cf. RANKIN, *op. cit.*, 195).

³ "Metrical passages in Suetonius", in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, x, 1899, 24-25.

(" *Postquam bis* ", etc.), designated by SUETONIUS as an *epigramma*, and the pentameter line placed on the statue of Octavian (" *Pater argentarius* ", etc.) may be samples of CASSIUS' *elegia*, and, indeed, it is possible that his elegies were originally included among his *epigrammata*. At any rate PSEUDO-ACRON makes it clear that CASSIUS composed in different types of verse, so we should not be surprised if in writing satires he sometimes employed iambic senarii as had Lucilius.¹ Nor would a satire in the form of an *epistula*, if CASSIUS' *epistula* (" *materna tibi* ", etc.) really was in verse, be out of place in satire or epigram. With regard to KALINKA's theory that CASSIUS wrote a single satiric poem against Octavian, it seems more probable that, like CATULLUS, AUGUSTUS, HORACE, or MARTIAL, CASSIUS composed different satiric poems upon different occasions.

KALINKA has suggested this excellent interpretation of the *epistula* of CASSIUS: "The *mensarius* who took the *materna farina* for Octavian from the mill at Aricia and moulded it and kneaded from it an image of dough was Octavian's father who married Atia, and the meal cake which he fashioned was Octavian himself."²

There was certainly considerable truth behind Antony's insulting remarks about Octavian's family, for Octavian does not venture to refute them, merely replying to Antony's calling him *Thurinus* with the statement that he was "astonished that his former name was held up to him as a reproach."³ Nor did CICERO deny for his young friend Antony's slurs on the Arician origin of Octavian's maternal stock.

There is found further evidence of the abuse poured forth upon Octavian's head by Antony. In the third *Philippic*, CICERO remarks, "the man whom in his edicts he calls Spartacus, in the Senate he does not dare even to call dishonest (*improbum*)."⁴ It is somewhat amusing to note that the term "*Spartacus*" applied to Octavian is flung back against Antony by CICERO in the fourth *Philippic*.⁵

Two more apparent sneers at Octavian appear in the third *Philippic*, and CICERO pokes fun at them, evidently with reason, for their obscurity of meaning: "But on the saddest subjects what laughter does he arouse! I have committed to memory some little expressions of a certain edict, and these he seems to think very smart; but so far I have found no one who understood what he meant. '*Nulla contumelia est, quam facit dignus*.' First of all, what is '*dignus*'? For many are deserving of misfortune, like himself. Is it the insult 'made' by a man of rank? But what greater insult can there be? Further, what is the meaning of 'to make insult'? Who talks this way?

¹ HENDRICKSON, in *C. P.*, vi, 1911, p. 142 has pointed out that "in the decade from 40 to 30 B. C. there was well under way an enthusiastic revival of Lucilius."

² *Op. cit.*, 45.

³ SUETONIUS, *AUG.*, vii, 1.

⁴ 8, 21.

⁵ 6, 15: "The whole conflict, therefore, Romans, is between the Roman people, victor over all nations, and

an assassin, a brigand, a Spartacus." The fierce attacks made by CICERO upon Antony are so familiar to readers of the *Philippics* that it has not seemed necessary to do more than touch upon them. The general tenor of CICERO's remarks may be seen in the passage just cited, and he never tires of representing Antony as a drunken villain.

"In the second place: '*Nec timor, quem denuntiat inimicus.*' What then? Is it usually a friend who makes a charge of fear? Similar expressions follow. Is it not better to be dumb than to say what no one understands? ... But these matters are perhaps too insignificant; what I ask is this—why he was so gentle in the Senate, although he had been so fierce in his edicts."¹ These two obscure remarks probably refer to Octavian in some way. Perhaps the last means that Octavian (*inimicus*) had charged Antony with cowardice (*timor*).²

We should note that Octavian was not the only one who was assailed by Antony's edicts, but Quintus Cicero, the son of Marcus' brother, comes in for his share of abuse,³ as does Marcus himself.⁴

When Antony met the senate on November 28, 44, he had prepared a motion against Octavian which a certain consular was to present, and this very likely contained many accusations. However, word came before the meeting of the desertion of one legion to Octavian and during it of the desertion of another, so Antony refrained from saying anything about his rival and left the city precipitately.⁵

When Antony had left Rome Cicero tried to induce the senate to declare Antony a public enemy, while Calenus defended Antony and exchanged abusive remarks with Cicero. It is in April of 43 that we hear of a further attack by Antony on Octavian. In the thirteenth *Philippic*, which is filled with violent abuse of Antony, CICERO read aloud and discussed in the senate the terms of a letter addressed by Antony jointly to Hirtius, the consul, and Octavian, and forwarded by Hirtius to Cicero. Antony rudely jeered at Octavian's youth and said that he owed everything to a name [*Caesar*].⁶ However true these points were, there can be no doubt about the fact that his youth had been "cast in the teeth" of Octavian until he became extremely sensitive on this point.⁷

As we might expect, Antony did not fail to reproach Octavian with his corruption and bribery of the troops.⁸

Rumors attributing the death of the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to the machinations

¹ 9, 22-23.

² Suetonius, *Aug.*, lxxxvi, (on writings of Mark Antony): "Mark Antony, indeed, he calls a madman for writing rather to be admired than to be understood. Then making sport of his perverse and inconsistent taste in choosing a style of speaking, he adds the following: 'Do you doubt whether you should imitate Anniius Cimber or Veranius Flaccus, that you use the words which Sallustius Crispus gleaned from the *Origines* of Cato? Or rather, must the verbose and unmeaning fluency of the Asiatic orators be transferred to our speech?'"

³ Cicero, *Phil.*, iii, 7, 17-18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 7, 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 8, 21; v, 9, 23; xiii, 9, 19.

⁶ Cicero, *Phil.*, xiii, 11, 24-25: "*Et te, o puer, qui*

omnia nomini debes."

⁷ McCarthy, in an article entitled "*Octavianus Puer*", in *C. P.*, xxvi, 1931, pp. 362-373, clearly demonstrates the frequency with which Octavian's youth was touched upon in insulting fashion, and he has shown that the young Caesar was evidently galled by the all too frequent references to his youth and inexperience.

⁸ Cicero, *Phil.*, xiii, 17, 35: "*quamquam vos eos adsentationibus et venenatis muneribus venistis depravatam.*" The public insults put upon Octavian by Antony are evidence of more than open enmity, for they were surely an attempt to turn the people against him, and such vilification of character is unfortunately typical of political propaganda before and after this time.

of Octavian were spread abroad after the raising of the siege of Mutina and before the triumvirate was formed by Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian. That such reports were also disseminated as political propaganda in the Actian War is most likely, but at any rate they had their origin in 43 B. C. We have several accounts of the accusation: SUETONIUS writes, "Since in this war Hirtius had died in battle and Pansa shortly afterwards from a wound, the rumor spread that both had been slain by the agency of Octavian, in order that after Antony had been put to flight and the state bereft of its consuls, he might alone take possession of the victorious armies. Such suspicion, indeed, was attached to the death of Pansa that the physician Glyco was imprisoned on the charge of having applied poison to the wound. Aquilius Niger adds to this that the other consul Hirtius was slain by Octavian himself amid the confusion of the battle.¹ DIO mentions the demise of both consuls and makes without comment the statement that Octavian was charged with having put them out of the way in order to obtain their office.² The suspicion evidently was kept alive, for TACITUS includes it with the comment on the occasion of Augustus' death: "When Hirtius and Pansa had been slain—whether the enemy killed them, or whether the infusion of poison into his wound slew Pansa, and Hirtius had been killed by his own soldiers and by Caesar, the author of the plot—Octavian had seized the forces of both."³ This is one place where Octavian's enemies appear to have been clearly indulging in malicious slander, for the evidence seems to exonerate Octavian completely. APPIAN says that Hirtius fell in battle within the camp of Antony and that the corpse was rescued by Octavian.⁴ The fact that Octavian was near Hirtius and carried off his body may have helped to give rise to the tale that he had murdered Hirtius. VELLEIUS mentions the death of the consuls without reference to any foul play,⁵ and in CICERO there is no mention of any murder.⁶ MARCUS BRUTUS, however, in a letter to CICERO vouches for the innocence of Pansa's physician Glyco: "I most warmly recommend to you Glyco, who is the husband of the sister of my friend Achilles. I have heard that he has been suspected by Torquatus of Pansa's death, and is held in custody as a murderer. Nothing is less credible, for who suffered greater misfortune through the death of Pansa? Besides, he is an upright and honest man; it seems that not even expediency would have driven him to crime. I ask and indeed ask urgently... that you rescue him from prison and save him."⁷ He was released through the efforts of Cicero.

It was in the campaign at Mutina that Antony seems to have charged Octavian with cowardice. Suetonius says *à propos* of the battle at Forum Gallorum on April 15th, 43, and of that at Mutina on April 27th, that in the former of these Antony writes that

¹ *Aug.*, xi.

² xlvi, 39, 1.

³ *Ann.*, i, 10, 1.

⁴ iii, 71.

⁵ ii, 61, 4.

⁶ *Phil.*, xiv, 9, 26; 10, 28; 14, 36. *Ad Fam.*, x, 33, 4-5; xi, 9, 1; 10, 2; 13 A, 1-2; xii, 30, 4; 25 B, 6.

⁷ *Ad Brutum*, i, 6, 2.

Octavian fled and did not appear until the next day, without his horse and his commander's cloak.¹ The story seems to be false, for DIO reports that Octavian did not take part in the engagement,² and there are plenty of other occasions when Octavian showed unquestioned courage on the battlefield.

Cruelty during the proscriptions and responsibility for them must have been a two-edged sword in the propaganda of the Actian War, and doubtless Octavian had to face charges on these scores during the Perusine and Sicilian Wars as well. The testimony of our sources varies somewhat as to the degree of responsibility attaching to Octavian. As would be expected, VELLEIUS exculpates Octavian. He lays at the door of Antony and Lepidus the responsibility for the renewal of the horror of Sulla's proscription and represents Octavian as protesting to no avail and as outvoted by his two colleagues.³ And again VELLEIUS shifts the responsibility of the proscription upon Antony when he remarks that the proscription was begun with the blood of the tribune and practically ended with the death of Cicero, as though Antony had now become sated.⁴ In PLUTARCH the picture is one of a cold-blooded trading of friends and relatives in order to wreak vengeance upon enemies. Thus Octavian is said to have surrendered Cicero to Antony, while Antony in turn gave up Lucius Caesar, his maternal uncle, to Octavian. At the same time Lepidus apparently surrendered his brother Paulus to the wrath of his colleagues.⁵

DIO takes much the same stand as VELLEIUS, for he points out that Antony and Lepidus in the course of their long public career had made many enemies, while Octavian was too youthful to have grounds for hating people. Moreover, he was naturally mild, as was shown by his refraining from severe measures after he no longer ruled jointly with his colleagues. During the proscription he is credited with saving many people and punishing or rewarding slaves as they had respectively betrayed or helped their masters; in short DIO describes Octavian as trying to save as many as possible, Lepidus as being not inexorable, and Antony as slaying savagely and without mercy.⁶

SUETONIUS' account, as often, seems to be colored here by Antonian propaganda or pro-Antonian sources: "Octavian administered for ten years the office of *triumvir rei publicae constituendae*, in the tenure of which he for some time indeed opposed his colleagues in their desire to carry out a proscription, but when it was once under way he executed it with greater severity than either of the others. For although they often could be influenced on behalf of many by prestige and supplications, he alone stoutly maintained that no one should be spared, and he even proscribed C. Toranius, his tutor, who had been a colleague of his father in the aedileship. Julius Saturninus gives this further infor-

¹ *Aug.*, x, 4.

² *xlvi*, 38, 1.

³ *ii*, 66, 1-2.

⁴ *ii*, 64, 4.

⁵ *Ant.*, xix, 1-2. It is also reported here that Lepidus

demanded the death of his own brother, but it is much more probable that he surrendered him to Octavian and Antony.

⁶ *xlvi*, 7, 1-4.

mation: "When Marcus Lepidus, after the proscription had been finished, had made excuses in the Senate for what had been done in the past and had offered hope of clemency for the future,¹ since sufficient punishment had been inflicted, Octavian claimed that he had put an end to the proscribing on the condition that he might have *carte blanche* in the future.² Afterwards, however, repenting of his (*Octavian's*) former inflexibility, he honored with equestrian rank T. Vinius Philopoemen because it was said that he had formerly concealed his master who had been proscribed."³

The Toranius who was said to have been proscribed by Octavian appears to have richly deserved punishment at Octavian's hands. Toranius was a tutor of Octavian,⁴ and it seems that he and the other guardians of the young man "spent his money", as NICOLAUS writes, "but he, remitting his just claims, was content with what remained."⁵ The reckoning was evidently adjusted by the proscription. APPIAN makes it quite clear that Octavian had scores to pay just as did Antony and Lepidus.⁶ Silicius Corona, a patrician, who had voted for the acquittal of the liberators, though spared for a short time, was proscribed and executed.⁷ Moreover, the senators who had incurred Octavian's wrath when he sought to gain the consulship were likewise spared for a time, but finally put on the list of the proscribed.⁸ SENECA definitely attaches blame to Octavian in the proscriptions, though he makes some allowance for the passion of youth and anger.⁹ At the age of eighteen he had already been a colleague in the proscription,¹⁰ and it is probably to the proscriptions that SENECA's statement refers, that Octavian "had already buried his dagger in the bosom of friends."¹¹

Perhaps CASSIUS OF PARMA (already discussed above, pp. 15-16) is responsible for the charge that Octavian proscribed people to get their bronzes. Suetonius, at any rate, writes that Octavian "was criticized likewise as excessively greedy for costly furniture and Corinthian bronzes and as addicted to gaming. Indeed, even at the time of the proscriptions there was written on his statue—

'My father dealt in silver, I in Corinthian bronzes.'

since it was thought that he had caused certain men to be entered in the list of the proscribed because of their Corinthian vases."¹² It seems most likely that the whole charge, even though it originated with CASSIUS OF PARMA or some other at the time of

¹ RANKIN (*op. cit.*, p. 267) suggests that this occasion was probably the inaugural address of Lepidus' second consulship, January 1, 42 B. C.

² Augustus' insistence on a free hand meant only prosecution of the liberators.

³ *Aug.*, xxvii, 1-2. Cf. note in WESCOTT-RANKIN edition, p. 267.

⁴ *Appian*, iv, 12; see VALERIUS MAXIMUS, ix, 11, 5, where the death of Toranius is described.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, 2.

⁶ See for his general account of the proscriptions, iv, 5, 51.

⁷ *Appian*, iii, 95, and *DIO*, xlvi, 49, 5.

⁸ *Appian*, iii, 94.

⁹ *De Clementia*, i, 11, 1: *in adulescentia caluit, arsit ira, multa fecit, ad quae invitus oculos retorquebat.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, i, 9, 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, i, 9, 1.

¹² *Aug.*, lxx, 2.

the proscription, was exploited by Antony at a later date. SUETONIUS, rightly I believe, brands this as slander: "Of these charges or slanders he most easily refuted that for unnatural vice by the purity of his life at the time and afterwards; thus, likewise, the odium of extravagance, since when Alexandria was taken he kept none of the royal furniture for himself except a single murrine cup, and soon melted all the golden vessels intended for constant use." ¹

Here, as was usually the case in civil wars, the same charges were bandied back and forth. As Octavian was charged with proscribing people to get their Corinthian bronzes, so Antony is reported to have proscribed Verres to obtain his Corinthian bronzes. ²

No doubt Octavian likewise exercised mercy, as in the cases of Marcus Lollius and Barbula, ³ and of Vinus, ⁴ but he can never be cleared of the responsibility of a share in the proscription, and RICE HOLMES has given a fair view of the matter. ⁵

It should be noted that at the time of the proscriptions Octavian was already indulging in the writing of satiric verses, which were doubtless similar to his lines written during the Perusine War against Fulvia and preserved for us by MARTIAL (*vide infra*). Of Octavian's verses during the period of the proscriptions we only know that some were *Fescennini* directed against Asinius Pollio, who wisely remarked, "But I keep silent, for it is not easy to inscribe anything against that man (*in eum scribere*) who is able to proscribe (*proscribere*)." ⁶

In the campaign at Philippi Octavian seems to have exposed himself to later jibes for cruelty and perhaps for cowardice. At the time of the battle and for some while thereafter Octavian was in very poor health. ⁷ He apparently had a narrow escape from death in the first engagement when his camp was captured by Brutus' troops. Octavian, either warned himself by a dream or by one that his physician Artorius had, left his camp just in time. ⁸ Antony had spread about a report that at Philippi, as at Forum Gallorum, Octavian had been defeated, and escaped by flight. This tradition appears to be represented only in PLUTARCH'S *Life of Antony*: "In the first battle, at least, Caesar, having been overwhelmingly defeated by Brutus, lost his camp, and barely escaped his pursuers by secret flight. But he himself has written in his *Memoirs* that he withdrew before the battle because some one of his friends had had a dream." ⁹ Here there were obviously two versions of the affair, and Octavian evidently took pains to deny the alleged flight. It looks as though enemies had taken the facts (his absence and the capture of the camp are quite true) and distorted them so as to picture Octavian as a coward. The proce-

¹ *Aug.*, lxxi, 1.

² PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 2, 6.

³ APPIAN, iv, 49.

⁴ *Id.*, iv, 44.

⁵ *The Architect of the Roman Empire*, i, p. 71.

⁶ MACROBIUS, *Sat.*, ii, 4, 21.

⁷ VELLEIUS, ii, 70, 1; PLUTARCH, *Brutus*, xxxviii, 2;

Ant., xxii, 4, and xxiii, 1; DIO, xlvii, 37, 2-3; 41, 3; 45, 2, and xlviii, 3, 1; APPIAN, iv, 106; v, 57; SUETONIUS, *Aug.*, xci, 1.

⁸ See the list of sources given by RICE HOLMES, *op. cit.*, i, p. 86, n. 1.

⁹ xxii, 2.

ture is so similar to the general nature of Antony's slanders that I am inclined to believe that the reproach against Octavian was spread either shortly after Philippi, or at any rate later, by Antony or his friends.

Of SÜETONIUS' account of Octavian's treatment of the prisoners after Philippi I think we may clearly see the source in Antony's propaganda. The words of SÜETONIUS are: "Octavian did not temper his victory, but sent Brutus' head to Rome to be thrown at the feet of Caesar's statue, and railed at the most distinguished of his captives, not even sparing insulting language. So, indeed, to one who begged humbly for burial he is said to have replied that burial would presently be the prerogative of the birds: When two others, father and son, begged for their lives, it is said that he ordered them to cast lots or play mora, to decide to which one life should be granted; and then he is said to have gazed at the death of both, since after the father was executed because he offered to die for his son, the latter also killed himself. And because of this all the others, among these Marcus Favonius, the famous imitator of Cato, greeted Antony respectfully as Imperator, when they were led forth in chains, but reviled Octavian to his face with the most foul abuse." ¹

Let us consider SÜETONIUS' account about Brutus' head. No other author mentions the head except DIO, who states that during a storm the head was thrown into the sea as it was being transported to Rome, ² and it is to be noted that he makes no mention of Octavian. Probably the source of SÜETONIUS' version is a writer hostile to Octavian, and the account is probably without foundation, especially since PLUTARCH credits Octavian with praiseworthy respect for the deceased Brutus: "but as for Brutus, of his enemies Antony buried him with due respect, and Caesar even guarded his honors." ³ Elsewhere PLUTARCH speaks only of honorable burial of Brutus' body. ⁴

Octavian, I believe, was making a point of replying to the charge that he had refused a man burial when he wrote in his *De Vita Sua*, Book X, that he had observed the practice of not denying to their relatives the bodies of those who were executed. ⁵

There can be little doubt that punishment was determined upon in the case of some of the most prominent followers of Brutus and Cassius and the assassins of Caesar or the proscribed; some anticipated it by suicide; others, like Favonius, were captured and put to death. ⁶ OCTAVIAN in his *Res Gestae* makes the statement that in all his civil and foreign wars he "spared all surviving citizens." ⁷ This is, of course, taking too much credit to

¹ *Aug.*, xiii, 1-2.

² xlvii, 49, 2.

³ *Syncretis* of lives of Dion and Brutus, v, 1; this continues with the story of how Octavian preserved the bronze statue of Brutus at Mediolanum in Cisalpine Gaul.

⁴ *Brutus*, liii, 3: "Antony, finding Brutus lying dead, ordered the body to be wrapped in the most costly of his own robes, and later when he discovered that the

robe had been stolen he put the thief to death. He sent the ashes of Brutus to his mother Servilia." Cf. the same account in PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, xxii, 4 and APPIAN, iv, 135.

⁵ ULPIAN, in *Dig.*, 48, 24, 1: *De cadaveribus damnatorum*.

⁶ DIO, xlvii, 49, 4.

⁷ *Mon. Ancyr.*, iii, 1, 14.

himself, more even than his staunch supporter VELLEIUS will grant him, for he writes that from Octavian's display of mercy at Actium "it could be inferred what moderation Caesar would have displayed in his victory if he had been allowed to do so, either at the beginning of his triumvirate or *on the field of Philippi*." ¹ VELLEIUS gives us, I believe, a most interesting case of Octavian's side of the story, which here, as elsewhere, seems to advance the same charges against Antony that Antony or his followers appear to have launched against Octavian. After telling how Octavian "had no greater pleasure in his victories than the sparing of Corvinus," VELLEIUS continues: "Varro, when about to die, *in mockery of Antony*, with great freedom prophesied for Antony the death which he deserved, and which befell him." ² Thus we have a picture of insulting language used by captives in one tradition against Octavian and in the other against Antony. It is possible, of course, that Octavian may have indulged in the cruelty mentioned in regard to the man who asked for burial and in regard to the father and son, but I firmly believe that the unpleasant details, at least, are based on Antonian or anti-Caesarian propaganda.

The Perusine War of 41-40 B. C. was the occasion for further attempts to discredit Octavian who, after Philippi, had returned to Italy to undertake the difficult task of settling the veterans on land taken from those sections of the country which favored the liberators. Lucius Antonius, the consul and the brother of Marcus, Fulvia, the passionate wife of Mark Antony, and Manius, Antony's procurator, stirred up bitter feeling against Octavian, and finally brought on civil warfare, in which the majority of the soldiers seem to have sympathized with Octavian. Every effort was made to win public opinion, which in a civil contest must have been of prime importance to both sides.

It is only natural that the people who were dispossessed of their lands and mistreated by the soldiers were enraged against Octavian, crying out that "the colonization was more unjust than the proscriptions, for the latter were against enemies but the former was against those who had done no injury." ³ Lucius, Fulvia, and Manius also seem to have insisted indignantly that Antony should be present in Italy, and protested that Octavian was getting all the credit for the colonizations. Fulvia and her children even appeared before the soldiers in an attempt to rouse feeling of devotion to Antony. Octavian's foes evidently left no stone unturned in their endeavor to discredit him. One sample of the work of his *obtrectatores* is preserved by Suetonius: "At an exhibition of games he had given orders through an aid that a private soldier who was sitting in the fourteen rows be ejected, and the report had been spread by his detractors that he had later subjected the man to torture and put him to death. He nearly lost his life in a furious mob

¹ ii, 86, 2.

² ii, 71, 1-2.

³ Appian, v, 14.

of soldiers, but was finally saved by the sudden appearance of the soldier safe and sound." ¹

It may have been at this same time, when people were strongly disaffected because of the confiscations of land and scarcity of supplies, due in part to the piratical operations of Sextus Pompey, that all the audience in a theatre, doubtless influenced by scurrilous stories spread, with or without foundation, by Octavian's opponents, received as a reproach against him and applauded with the greatest approval the following line, uttered on the stage with reference to a priest of the Mother of the Gods, as he played his drum: "Do you see how a wanton with his finger rules the world?" ²

When Lucius first began to champion the oppressed who were suffering to satisfy the soldiers, the troops of Antony as well as Octavian found fault with him for acting against Antony's interest, "and Fulvia found fault with him for stirring up war at an unseasonable time, until Manius cunningly changed her mind by telling her that while Italy remained peaceful Antony would stay with Cleopatra, but that if there should be war in Italy he would come back quickly. So then Fulvia, with the jealousy of a woman, inflamed Lucius to discord." ³

Manius, however, did not use the name of Cleopatra first to excite the jealousy of Fulvia, if we are to judge by our evidence. After Philippi Antony in his progress through the East and before he ever met Cleopatra had been called upon to act as arbiter in the disputed possession of the kingdom of Cappadocia. Antony rejected the claim of Ariarathes and bestowed the kingdom upon Archelaus [or Sisina]. "And this Archelaus," writes DIO, "came on his father's side from those Archelai who had fought against the Romans, but on his mother's side was the son of Glaphyra, an hetaera." ⁴ APPIAN records

¹ *Aug.*, xiv; APPIAN, v, 15, brings out in his account of this episode the necessity confronting Octavian of winning the favor of the soldiers: "It was also of great moment that the five-year period of their rule was now passing and that they again had need of the goodwill of the army. On this account at that moment Octavian willingly overlooked their insolence and arrogance. In the theatre, when he was present, a soldier who had no place of his own crossed to those reserved for the knights. The crowd pointed at him, and Caesar made him get up and depart. The army, however, was displeased and the troops stood about him as he was leaving the theatre and demanded the soldier, since they did not see him, and therefore thought he had been slain. When he appeared they thought he now had been led out from the prison, and, when he denied this and recounted what had happened, they said that he had been instructed to lie, and they reviled him for betraying their common cause."

² Suetonius, *Aug.*, lxviii, cites this in his treatment of the reproaches for shameless acts which were brought against Octavian. *Immediately before this item Suetonius gives Lucius Antonius as the authority for two other slanderous accusations*, and it would seem that the biographer was depending on Lucius's writings or some account of them as his source at this point.

³ APPIAN, v, 19; cf. v, 66: "[After the reconciliation at Brundisium] Antony killed Manius because he had provoked Fulvia by accusations against Cleopatra and had been to blame for so many things." PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, xxx, 2: "On the voyage, however, Antony, picking up those of his friends who had fled from Italy, learned from them that *Fulvia had been responsible for the war*, since by nature she was a meddling and daring woman, and hoped to draw Antony away from Cleopatra if there should be a movement in Italy."

⁴ xlix, 32, 3.

for us the reason for Antony's decision : " He assigned to Sisina the kingdom *because Sisina's mother, Glaphyra, appeared to him a beautiful woman.* " ¹

Beyond question Manius saw that news of this reached Fulvia's ears, and she probably had reason enough to be jealous of the fair Glaphyra before Cleopatra won the favor of Antony. Octavian, in the scurrilous propaganda that accompanied the Perusine, as it did the other civil wars, took a hand himself, and, like CASSIUS OF PARMA on the other side, resorted to verse. His attack is upon Fulvia, who with her proud and fiery temper must have been lashed to fury by the taunting verses of Octavian's epigram which MARTIAL has preserved :

" *Caesaris Augusti lascivos, livide, versus
Sex lege, qui tristis verba latina legis:
Quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam
Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.
Fulviam ego ut futuam? Quid si me Manius oret,
Paedicem, faciam? Non puto, si sapiam.
" Aut futue, aut pugnemus ", ait. Quid, quod mihi vita
Carior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant!
Absolvis lepidos nimirum, Auguste, libellos,
Qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.* " ²

Lucius Antonius accused Octavian to the troops of being treacherous to Marcus. ³ The officers of the army brought about a temporary agreement between Lucius and Octavian, but bad feeling made this of short duration, and Manius, Marcus' procurator, boldly brought against Octavian the following accusations, that :

- (1) Defrauding Antony, Octavian had freed Cisalpine Gaul.
- (2) Octavian had assigned to the soldiers almost all of Italy, instead of eighteen cities.
- (3) Thirty-four instead of twenty-eight legions had been given a share in lands and money.
- (4) Nothing had been accomplished against Sextus Pompey, who was oppressing Rome by famine.

¹ v, 7 ; L. CRAVEN, *Antony's Oriental Policy until the Defeat of the Parthian Expedition*, in *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. iii, No. 2, 1920, pp. 29 ff., has stated that Archelaus was very able as a ruler. W. GWATKIN, however, *Cappadocia as a Roman Procuratorial Province*, in *University of Missouri Studies*, Vol. v, No. 4, 1930, p. 7, n. 5, points out that at the time of the decision by Antony Archelaus had not yet proven his ability.

² *Epigr.*, xi, 20. The style of Augustus' verses is

similar to that in the anonymous poem, perhaps by CASSIUS PARMENSIS, cited by Suetonius, in his *Life of Augustus*, lxx, 1 ; cf. Suetonius *Aug.*, lxxxv, 2 : *exstat alter [liber] aequae modicus Epigrammatum, quae fere tempore balinei meditabatur*. I agree with MALCOVATI (*Caesaris Augusti Operum Fragmenta*, 1928, p. xii, n. 3) that there is no reason to reject MARTIAL's attribution of the verses to Octavian.

³ APPIAN, v, 19.

(5) The money raised to combat Sextus Pompey had been used to win the favor of the soldiers.

(6) He was no more selling the property of the proscribed to the troops than giving it to them.

Manius concluded by saying that if Octavian truly desired peace he should render an accounting for his past acts and for the future do only what was decided on by common consent.¹

A meeting of arbitration that was to be held at Gabii did not materialize, by reason of mistrust on both sides, and "Octavian and Lucius determined to wage war and were already employing bitter edicts against each other."² Very likely some of the bitter remarks are identical with the "false accusations", as APPIAN makes Octavian say in a reply to Lucius at the surrender of Perusia, "that you artfully made against me."³ Probably APPIAN was basing the speeches here upon AUGUSTUS' *Memoirs*. The following passage from SÜETONIUS may well contain samples of these "false accusations": "Lucius, the brother of Marcus, attacked Octavian with the charge that after sacrificing his honor to Caesar he had prostituted himself also to Aulus Hirtius in Spain for three hundred thousand sesterces, and that he was accustomed to singe his legs with glowing nutshells that the hair might grow softer."⁴

At the beginning of hostilities Octavian made a plea for peace to the Senate and knights, in which he declared that he was being accused by Lucius and his followers of cowardice and weakness because he did not fight them.⁵ When some members of these orders went to Lucius he said that Octavian was "playing a part", while "Manius also showed a letter of Mark Antony's — he either forged it, or it was genuine — saying that they should fight if anyone tried to lessen his reputation."⁶ It is interesting to note that APPIAN or his sources were not satisfied about the authenticity of the letter, which would perhaps indicate that the practice of forging documents was not more unusual in the Roman propaganda of 41-40 B. C. than it is today.

The real reason which Lucius gave as the principal *casus belli* was that Octavian and Lepidus would not give up the triumvirate with its "violent rule" now that the period of five years was almost up.⁷ He claimed that his brother Marcus would be willing to

¹ v, 22.

² Id., v, 24.

³ v, 45.

⁴ Aug., lxviii. In spite of NICOLAUS' account of Octavian's model upbringing and behavior as a youth, it is hard to discount all the charges of loose living which were brought against Octavian, especially as even his friends, according to SÜETONIUS, could not deny that he practiced adultery.

⁵ APPIAN, v, 28.

⁶ Id., v, 29.

⁷ Id., v, 30, 39, and 43. H. GRUEBER, *Coinages of the Triumvirs, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian, Illustrative of the History of the Times*, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, Vol. xi, 1911, 135-136, calls attention to the fact that Lucius Antonius during the siege of Perusia struck coins bearing on the reverse the word *Pietas*, a cognomen which he took to signalize his fraternal zeal. The legend on the coins was doubtless intended to show the public that Lucius was fighting on behalf of his brother Marcus.

resign his part in the triumvirate and exchange "an unlawful office for a lawful one, a tyranny for the constitution of their fathers."¹ This was the ground for war — and Lucius was probably sincere in his republican stand — which he solemnly asserted in a speech to the people in Rome before he retired to Perusia.²

The burning of Perusia upon its final capitulation and certain executions seem to have given rise to tales of shocking brutality on Octavian's part. SUETONIUS, who appears to have been employing sources inimical to Octavian, gives the following account: "After the capture of Perusia he took vengeance on very many, meeting all who tried to beg for pardon or to offer excuses with one reply: 'You must die.' Certain people write that three hundred men of both orders were selected from those who had surrendered, and sacrificed like victims on the Ides of March at the altar erected to the Deified Julius. Some have written that he took up arms on purpose, to uncover his secret opponents and those whom fear rather than goodwill held in check by giving them an opportunity to follow the leadership of Lucius Antonius, and when they had been overcome and their estates confiscated, to pay the rewards promised to his veterans."³ DIO CASSIUS records Octavian's cruelty and tells the story of the Perusine altar and the destruction of the city by fire, though he qualifies his account by introducing it with the phrase, "Story has it" (καὶ λόγος γε ἔχει).⁴ SENECA accepts the story of Octavian's *crudelitas* at the *Arae Perusinae*,⁵ but APPIAN'S version puts Octavian in a somewhat more favorable light. He admits that Octavian had intended to permit his soldiers to plunder the city, but says that the conflagration which consumed it was the work of a citizen of Perusia, a certain Cestius. Octavian then made peace with all his enemies, but the soldiers on their own initiative killed certain of Octavian's personal foes, such as Cannutius, Gaius Flavius, and Clodius Bithynicus.⁶ The councillors of Perusia were all imprisoned and later executed, with the exception of Lucius Aemilius, who had at one time voted for the condemnation of the murderers of Caesar.⁷ VELLEIUS, of course, rallies to the defence of Octavian's character, and says that Octavian sent Antonius away unharmed, and that the cruelty shown the people of Perusia was rather on account of the anger of the soldiers than the wish of their leader. Moreover he says that the fire was set by a leading citizen of the city named Macedonicus.⁸

That Octavian actually offered his enemies as a living sacrifice at the altar of his deified father seems absolutely incredible when we realize that the Romans did not practice human sacrifice. He was surely too shrewd to shock the public and turn opinion against

¹ *Id.*, v, 30.

² As we shall see presently, Octavian felt called upon to make promises about this restoration of the republic, and the failure to bring this about was an object of attack upon which Mark Antony later seized.

³ *Aug.*, xv.

⁴ xlviii, 14, 3-5.

⁵ *De Clementia*, i, 11, 1.

⁶ v, 49.

⁷ v, 48.

⁸ ii, 74, 4.

himself by an act of unnecessary barbarity, if not impiety. The charge that he had fomented the war to "smoke out" his enemies does not seem to accord with his apparent reluctance to undertake it. The statement that he brought on war only to confiscate the property of those who sided against him sounds like an echo of the "*Pater argentarius, ego Corintharius*" and of the story that he proscribed men to get their bronzes, and I believe both tales had their origin in the slanderous propaganda of his enemies, probably Antonius and his associates.¹

Immediately after the Perusine War, Octavian went to Gaul where he obtained possession of the army of Calenus. In the meantime friends of Sextus Pompey tried to induce Antony to make an alliance with Pompey. Octavian, fearing warfare against such a coalition, tried to arouse the feelings of the people against both Antony and Pompeius. He aroused the colonized soldiers by "claiming that Antony was restoring Pompeius along with the owners of the lands which the soldiers now held, for most of the owners had fled to Pompeius. And although this cause of irritation was plausible, not even so did the allottees zealously take up arms against Antony."² Without doubt there was an active propaganda kept up on both sides, and it was at least in part carried on by the writing of letters by the two commanders, a practice to which they had resorted previously, and to which they were later to have recourse. Cocceius, according to APPIAN, tried to arrange a peace between the leaders, and asked Antony if he did not wish to send a letter. "Antony, writes APPIAN, "replied: 'What now could we write to each other, since we are enemies, unless we speak ill of one another?' I replied through Caecina to his former letters. If you wish, take copies of my replies."³ In the further reply of Antony (as APPIAN has it) when Cocceius pressed this attempt at peacemaking there very likely have been transmitted some of the real complaints of Antony against Octavian at this time: Antony protested that Octavian had shut him out of Brundisium, and taken away his provinces and the army of Calenus. Octavian's kindness and benefactions to Antony's friends were an attempt to alienate their affection for Antony.⁴

Barely had the peace of Brundisium been arranged, when Sextus Pompey and Octavian undertook a desperate struggle for the mastery of the sea. The Sicilian War saw much the same employment of propaganda as went on in the previous contests of this period. At first Octavian's fleet met with a great disaster due to storm, and he is reported to have cried out that he would obtain victory even against the will of Neptune, and on the next celebration of the *ludi plebei* in November, 41, he removed the statue of Neptune from the procession after it had been received with great applause by the people on the first

¹ GARDTHAUSEN, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, iii, 3, 208-9, is apparently quite convinced of the genuineness of the whole story of the Perusine altars. HADDAS, in his *Sextus Pompey*, 1930, p. 79, would seem to incline to-

wards acceptance of the story.

² APPIAN, v, 53.

³ v, 60.

⁴ v, 60.

day of the games.¹ Complaint was made of both the speech and the act by enemies whom SUETONIUS designates only by the expression *alii*. These anonymous critics were probably friends of Lepidus, though perhaps the reference is to propagandists in the service of Antony during, or just preceding, the Actian War. The accusation of impiety, of disrespect for divinity, was a charge much used for purposes of propaganda, as will presently be seen. It may be that Octavian only meant "the sea" when he used — if he really did so — the expression "*etiam invito Neptuno*," but Sextus Pompey had styled himself "Neptune" or "Neptune's son", and Octavian was then, perhaps, referring to the younger Pompey or his father as "Neptune". The statue, moreover, was removed from the procession not out of disrespect for the god, but because it served as a symbol of Pompey to his sympathizers, and because its appearance made them too turbulent.

Soon, however, a temporary peace was patched up between Sextus and Octavian, but it was presently violated. APPIAN has given an excellent account of the appeal which Octavian made to win the sympathy and support of the public: "While Antony was busied with these matters [in Athens] the treaty which existed between Octavian and Pompeius was broken for other reasons, as was suspected, but those declared by Octavian were the following: Antony had given the Peloponnesus to Pompey on the terms that Pompey should take it over surrendering the tribute then due to himself from the Peloponnesus, or undertaking to surrender it himself, or else should await the collection. Pompeius, however, had not accepted the country on these terms, for he thought that it had been given to him with the amount of tribute then due. So, angry, as Octavian said, whether about these matters or in accordance with his general faithlessness, or out of jealousy of the others who had large armies, or because Menodorus had incited him to consider the agreement as a truce rather than a durable peace, he was constructing ships and collecting oarsmen, and once harangued the troops, telling them that they must be prepared for everything. Secret piracy again troubled the sea, and the Romans obtained little or no relief from the famine, so that they cried out that from the treaty had come no release from their sufferings, but the acquisition of a fourth tyrant. *And when Octavian caught certain pirates and tortured them, they said that Pompeius had sent them out; this Octavian proclaimed to the people and wrote it to Pompeius himself, who disavowed it and made a counter charge on account of the Peloponnesus.*"² This professed confession of the pirates was capitalized, for, "as the belief was still prevalent that this war was in violation of the treaty, Octavian tried to allay the suspicion. He wrote to the city, and himself told the army that Pompeius had broken the treaty by practising piracy, that the pirates accused him of this, that Menodorus also [who had just deserted to Octavian] denounced the

¹ SUETONIUS, *Aug.*, xvi, 2, and DIO, xlviii, 31.

² v, 77.

whole design, and that Antony knew it, and for this reason would not give up the Peloponnesus." ¹

As was his wont, Octavian seems to have had agents at work. His freedman Philadelphus carried on negotiations with Menas, freedman and lieutenant of Pompey, as a result of which Menas "delivered to Octavian Sardinia, Corsica, three legions, a large number of light armed troops, and probably sixty vessels." ² Pompey demanded that Octavian surrender Menas and was refused. It is possible that the exchange of charges which transpired between Octavian and Pompey included the slur made by Pompey that Octavian was "effeminate." ³ Moreover when Antony declined to assist Octavian, Pompey pointed to this refusal as evidence that Antony considered Octavian's cause unjust. ⁴

The contest between Octavian and Pompey was marked by the naval victories of Pompey, who was aided by wind and storm in his conflicts with his foe. His great success at sea and the fact that his father, Pompey the Great, had distinguished himself by his famous naval command, evidently suggested to Sextus that as a piece of propaganda he should claim that he was of divine descent, the son of Neptune. ⁵ In so doing he was imitating Octavian and Antony, who both claimed divine descent. Sextus wore a sea-blue cloak, sacrificed constantly to Neptune, attributed his success to that god, and depicted on his coins images of Neptune and the trident. ⁶

Although we do not have any statement to the effect that Octavian ridiculed Pompey or accused him of impiety for posing as Neptune or Neptune's son, such may well have been the case. At any rate Octavian seems to have tried to encourage the belief that Apollo was his patron, while the story arose that Apollo was even his father. ⁷ Perhaps he went so far as to represent Apollo at a banquet, of which we have the following account in Suetonius: "Likewise a rather private banquet of his which was called by the crowd the *δωδεκάθεος* became the town's talk. At this banquet the guests reclined in the garb of gods and goddesses, and Octavian himself was arrayed

¹ *Id.*, v, 80. HADDAS, *op. cit.*, p. 104, comments as follows on these passages from Appian: "Of all the ancients Octavian was the most consummate artist in the astute use of publicity, and we can imagine what capital he made of this bit of 'news'. After the war had begun anew, he still found it necessary to issue propaganda explaining the cause of the war."

² HADDAS, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

³ Suetonius, *Aug.*, lxxviii. See HADDAS, *op. cit.*, p. 106, n. 33.

⁴ HADDAS, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁵ *Id.*, *op. cit.*, p. 114, writes: "If he took the present occasion to reiterate his claim to descent from Neptune, who shall find fault? Events certainly had

demonstrated an almost personal interest in his welfare on the part of the deity of the deep. Shall we deny that Sextus possessed sufficient political acumen to employ divine machinery for the glorification of his own name among the common folk? Octavian did not scruple to commission the first poet of Rome to prove his descent from a weaker deity than Neptune." Cf. L. R. TAYLOR, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, 1931, pp. 120-121; Miss TAYLOR says: "It is clear from the case of Sextus Pompey that these claims to divine connections on the part of the leaders were used largely as a form of propaganda."

⁶ TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

as Apollo, according to charges made in Antony's letter and the very well-known anonymous verses :

*Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Mallia sexque deas,
Impia dum Phoebi Caesar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria:
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
Fugit et auratos Juppiter ipse thronos.*

The very great want and famine which then prevailed in the state fomented the gossip about the banquet, and on the following day arose the outcry that the gods had devoured all the grain and that Caesar was clearly Apollo, but Apollo the Tormentor, a surname by which this god was worshipped in a certain part of the city." ¹

Miss TAYLOR correctly assigns the banquet to a period shortly after the peace of Brundisium, but she has, I believe, been mistaken in her statement that "Octavian is said.... to have indulged in some very unseemly gossip about the affairs of the other gods." ² She can only be referring to the line *Dum nova divorum cenat adulteria*, which seems rather to mean "While Octavian presents at a banquet new adulteries of the gods." The banquet is almost certainly the feast at which Livia was betrothed by her former husband to Octavian, a banquet which probably occurred about December, 39, or early in January, 38 B. C. ³ a time when the grain supply was cut off by Sextus Pompey. ⁴ Such a banquet at this time is mentioned by SUETONIUS (*convivium*) ⁵ and by DIO (ἰστιάσεις) ⁶ in such a way as to indicate that the betrothal created scandal, ⁷ as indeed it might. In fact, SUETONIUS in speaking of the birth of Drusus in the home of Octavian shortly after the *cena* remarks: *fuitque suspicio ex vitrico per adulterii consuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est versus* :

τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσι καὶ τρίμηνα παῖδιά.⁸

Of course Octavian had just divorced Scribonia, and Tiberius, Livia. Still, in spite of these legal separations and even if there had previously been no actual adultery as was suspected, there was ground for scandal in these divorces and in the fact that her former husband betrothed Livia, who was pregnant by him, to Octavian. Such conduct might easily lead to a charge of *adulterium*, and this is, I believe, what is meant by the line of the anonymous verse which I have translated above.

The libellous verses were probably written and circulated in 38 B. C., very likely by adherents of Sextus Pompey and possibly also by friends of Antony. Perhaps the

¹ Aug., lxx.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 119; RANKIN, *op. cit.*, p. 337, translates: "While he feasted on novel debaucheries of the gods". J. B. PIKE, "*Cenat adulteria* in Suetonius," in *C. J.*, xv, 1919-1920, 372 f., renders the line "dines the rôle."

³ J. CARCOPINO, *Le Mariage d'Octave et de Livie et la*

Naissance de Drusus, in *Rev. Historique*, clxi, 1929, 225-236.

⁴ APPIAN, v, 77, and RICE HOLMES, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁵ Aug., lxix, 1.

⁶ xlvi, 44, 3.

⁷ Cf. DIO, xlvi, 44, 5.

⁸ Claud., i, 1.

author was CASSIUS OF PARMA. The charge of impiety brought against Octavian for impersonating Apollo was a matter of propaganda and is matched, as is so often the case, by a counter-charge of the same nature against Antony, and this was probably true in the case of Pompey also; as I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ the "Apollo Tortor" is paralleled in the tale of Antony's entry into Ephesus, whose inhabitants greeted him as Dionysus χαριδότης and μειλίχιος. "For," runs the account of PLUTARCH, "he was, of course, that to some, but to the many he was Dionysus Ὀμηστής and Ἀγριώνιος."² Antony, moreover, impersonated Dionysus not only in Asia, but also at Athens, and in Egypt,³ and VELLEIUS describes Antony's impersonation of Dionysus at Alexandria, with his ivy wreath, thyrsus, saffron robe of gold, buskins, and Bacchic chariot.⁴ I think that we are justified by a further remark of VELLEIUS in believing that Antony held, or was accused of holding, a banquet at which he was dressed as a god — doubtless Dionysus — and his friends as gods and goddesses, for he says that at a banquet Plancus had painted his naked body blue, encircled his head with reeds, attached a fish's tail, crawled on his knees, and danced the rôle of Glaucus the Nereid.⁵ The similarity of the charges of impiety is too striking to be accidental, and it affords one more proof of the "give and take" of accusations during this period. As we shall see presently, there is evidence that Octavian actually made Antony's impersonation of Dionysus one of the important features of his political campaign before Actium. It is to the period of strife with Pompey that there belongs, probably, the epigram,

*"Postquam bis classe victus naves perdidit,
aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam,"*

which has already been discussed (pp. 14-15). These lines are a mocking reference to Octavian's ill success at sea, with a slur at his undoubted fondness for gaming, a pastime forbidden by law and not consonant with old-time Roman virtue.⁶ There can be no doubt about the fact that Octavian was a gambler, but Antony was equally fond of games of chance,⁷ and Octavian, it seems, was never ashamed of gambling.⁸ Such sport was certainly common enough among the upper classes during the Augustan age.

In 36 B. C. Octavian made a final attempt, coöperating with Lepidus, to crush Pompey, and this time he was successful. Pompey fled to the East and sent an embassy to Antony

¹ "Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's 'De Sua Ebrietate'," in C. P., xxiv, 1929, p. 141.

² *Ant.*, xxiv, 3-4.

³ TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, 108 ff.

⁴ ii, 82, 4.

⁵ ii, 83, 2. Perhaps this banquet was described by Plancus himself to the Roman senate after he had deserted to the side of Octavian, for VELLEIUS (ii, 83, 3) relates the following incident: *Haud absurde Coponius, vir e praetoris gravissimus, P. Silii socer, cum recens transfuga multa ac nefanda Plancus absenti Antonio in senatu obiceret, multa,*

inquit, mehercules fecit Antonius pridie quam tu illum relinqueres.

⁶ See OVID'S *Tristia*, ii, 471-484, and CICERO, *ad Att.*, xiv, 5, where he refers to Antony in the words *ab aleatore phurμός πολύς*; cf. in CICERO, *Phil.*, ii, 23, 56, the case of Licinius Denticulus, a convicted gambler, and SCOTT, *Another of Ovid's Errors*, in C. J., xxvi, 1931, pp. 293-296.

⁷ PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, xxix, 1, and xxxiii, 3; *Moralia*, 319 F.

⁸ SUETONIUS, *Aug.*, lxxi.

at Alexandria to endeavor to make an alliance with him and also embroil him with Octavian. The envoys, in urging their case, stated that Pompey preferred a guileless and magnanimous man to one who was deceitful and treacherous, and fond of artifice.¹ In view of the rôle Octavian had played in war and politics one could hardly say that the envoys were wrong, but it must be remembered that with most of the political figures of this age, or of any, success was the goal and the end justified the means. Pompey failed to make an alliance with Antony, who before long had him put to death.

The contest with Pompey afforded Antony material for accusations against Octavian in the years between the Sicilian War and Actium. Before discussing this material, however, it has seemed best to turn to the events which immediately ensued upon Sextus Pompey's flight from Sicily. Lepidus was present on the island, and his already vast army had been swollen by the addition of the legions which had belonged to Pompey. His power led him to believe he might overthrow Octavian, but now, as before, in the year 44, Octavian's secret agents were actively at work, and their efforts, seconded by the daring of their leader,² deprived Lepidus of his leadership. APPIAN reports that Octavian sent his emissaries into Lepidus' camp to tamper with the troops and show them how they might further their own interests. The men who had served under Pompey feared that the terms on which they had surrendered would not hold unless ratified by Octavian, so his agents were most active among them.³ When the troops finally declared for Octavian he spared Lepidus and devoted himself to establishing order in Italy. One of his acts is of especial significance: his burning of all the writings which were tokens of the discord.⁴ It seems quite probable, in fact certain, that among these writings which were burned were some of the scurrilous lampoons, edicts, and letters, which had been put into circulation as political propaganda. At the same time Octavian anticipated criticism by promising entirely to restore the republic after Antony's return from the Parthian war; he also stated that he was persuaded that Antony, too, was willing to give up his office now that the civil wars were over.⁵

In this way he neatly shifted to Antony's shoulders the burden of any failure to relinquish the triumvirate. Even now, although everything seemed on the surface to point to an end of civil discord, the populace must have been restless, and propaganda against Octavian was maintained, very likely by friends of Antony, Lepidus, and Sextus Pompey. When Octavian refused to take the pontificate from Lepidus, gave the people an account of what he had done, declined some of the honors voted him, remitted the tribute required in registered lists and all other debts owed to the state for the time previous to the civil war, and abolished certain taxes, he still incurred adverse criticism: "Certain people now

¹ APPIAN, v, 135.

² VELLEIUS, ii, 80, 3-4.

³ v, 124.

⁴ v, 132.

⁵ Id., v, 132.

spread a report that Octavian at that time performed these acts of magnanimity to bring reproach upon Antony and Lepidus and to shift upon them alone the blame for the acts of former injustice; and others gave out that, since he was unable by any means to collect the debts due, he turned the people's inability to pay into a favor from himself that cost him nothing. But these remarks were empty chatter."¹

Antony could find enough fact in the years preceding the end of the Sicilian war to serve as a basis for reports intended to discredit Octavian, and SÜETONIUS has preserved some such reports.

It seems that just before the battle with Pompey between Mylae and Naulochus in 36, Octavian fell into so deep a sleep that his friends had to awaken him that he might give the signal. This was, surely, innocent enough; but SÜETONIUS surmised — and probably correctly — that this fact afforded Mark Antony opportunity for the taunt: "Not even with steady eyes could he look upon the line of battle drawn up, but he lay in a stupor upon his back looking up at the sky and did not arise until it was clear that the ships of the enemy had been routed by Marcus Agrippa."² Evidently Antony's method in making charges was to use some very slight foundation or element of probability.

In the Actian campaign Octavian was accused of cruelty during his triumvirate, and it looks as though the following remarks of SÜETONIUS may have been taken, like much of his other material, from the propaganda of Antony: "In this same position of power [the triumvirate]," writes SÜETONIUS, "Octavian suffered odium for manifold reasons. For when, as he was addressing a group of soldiers to whose number a throng of citizens had been admitted, he noticed that Pinarius, a Roman knight, was taking notes, he ordered him to be stabbed on the spot since he thought he was an informer and spy. Likewise because Tediüs Afer, the consul elect, had spitefully found fault with a certain deed of his, Octavian voiced such dire threats that Afer threw himself over a cliff. And again, when Quintus Gallius, the praetor, was paying his respects and concealing tablets of two leaves beneath his garment, Octavian suspected that he was hiding a sword. At the moment, however, he did not dare to make any investigation lest something different from what he expected might be found. But a little later he had Gallius carried off from the tribunal by centurions and soldiers, tortured like a slave, and, when he made no confession, killed, after first, with his own hands, digging out Gallius' eyes. Octavian, however, writes that after Gallius sought an interview and tried to make a treacherous attack upon him, he had him placed in custody, while after he was released under sentence of banishment he either perished by shipwreck or was waylaid by bandits."³ APPIAN, who places this last incident in the year 43 B. C., merely says that Octavian discovered Gallius plotting against him and ordered him to depart to his brother Marcus Gallius, who was serving with Antony,

¹ DIO, xlix, 15, 4-5.

² Aug., xvi, 2.

³ Aug., xxvii, 3-4.

while he adds that "it appears that he boarded ship and was nowhere seen again."¹ It is very likely that these accusations were launched by Antony before the Actian war or during it. They probably had but little foundation, but, as has been shown above, the merest appearance of possibility would furnish Antony with material for his propaganda. As regards the charge of cruelty it seems that Octavian was comparatively humane for the standards of his time.² He was, however, compelled to write in his defence, as on this occasion, and it must have been necessary for him to be constantly on guard against charges of cruelty. APPIAN informs us that after the Sicilian War a tribune who incited Octavian's troops against their leader "vanished on the following day, and it was not known what became of him."³ Such a rumor could furnish capital material for Antony's agents, and perhaps it is their creation.

From 36 to 32 the storm of civil war was brewing. Outwardly there was peace between Octavian and Antony, but in secret they were forging the weapons for a deadly combat to decide who should be master of the Roman world. Not the least important preparation was propaganda, for each leader fully realized the necessity of obtaining the support of public opinion. The main difference was one of emphasis. Antony had to bid for the support of the East first of all. To Octavian the West was all-important. Unfortunately for Antony, reports from Egypt and the East afforded his rival ready material for propaganda.

In Athens, in celebration of Ventidius' victory in 38 B. C., Antony feasted the Greeks and played the part of gymnasiarch and appeared with Greek robe, white shoes, and gymnasiarch's wand.⁴ At Alexandria, too, if report be true, he tried to win the favor of the citizens of that city. He dined, drank, and hunted with their queen, and at night both put on the garb of servants and had mad escapades with the common people. Antony's coarse wit and easy ways found favor with the Alexandrians, who said that he "used the tragic mask with the Romans, but the comic mask with them."⁵

Such conduct in Athens and in Alexandria during his first visit there, after Philippi, was lacking in the gravity which suited a Roman commander, and these acts, "follies"

¹ iii, 95.

² For example, Suetonius (*Aug.*, li) himself writes as follows: "Of his clemency and affability the evidences are many and strong. I need not enumerate all those of the opposite party to whom he granted pardon and immunity and even permitted to hold high positions in the state. He was satisfied to punish two plebeians, Junius Novatus and Cassius Patavinus, the former with a fine and the latter with a mild form of exile. Yet Novatus under the name of the young Agrippa had put into circulation a most bitter letter about Octavian; Cassius had affirmed at a crowded banquet that he lacked neither the wish nor the courage to stab Octavian." It would seem that, in the case of Junius Novatus, Octavian merely had recourse to civil action, as any Roman citizen might have done when attacked by a letter signed with a false name. Octavian evidently made a point of dealing with slander as if he were an ordinary citizen, while as a rule he preferred to ignore such attacks. Tiberius followed the same general policy in the earlier part of his reign. Suetonius cites Octavian's mildness in the case of Aemilius Aelianus (*Aug.*, li). He also tells (*Aug.*, lxxvii, 1) of Octavian's slave, Cosmus, "who spoke of him in most insulting language" and "whom he merely put in fetters."

³ v, 128.

⁴ v, 128.

⁵ Plutarch, *Ant.*, xxxiii, 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xxix, 1-2.

from the Roman point of view, were arrayed against Antony when the time came to bid for the support of public opinion in Rome and Italy.

Lack of success in warfare generally affords a ready lever to overthrow the reputation and popularity of a general. Such a lever, ready for Octavian's hand, was the failure of Antony's Parthian campaign in 36 B. C. At the time Octavian was still embroiled with Sextus Pompey, a fact which doubtless convinced him of the advisability of maintaining friendly relations with Antony and not making a stir about the *débâcle* of Antony's campaign. Antony, to be sure, tried to give the impression in his dispatches that he had been victorious, telling just the opposite of what was true. Octavian and his advisers are said to have known the truth but to have kept from exposing the situation to the public, at least for the moment, and to have made sacrifices and held festivals.¹ Surely it was not only rumor that brought the tale of the defeat to Octavian, for we have had sufficient proof of his practice of keeping spies in his rival's ranks.

Though Octavian officially pretended to be duped by Antony's lying reports, he saw to it, no doubt, that rumor told of the failure of the Parthian expedition, and besides, for purposes of propaganda, a subtle reason was suggested for Antony's withdrawal, namely that he had been bewitched by the charms of the Egyptian queen and deserted the campaign to hasten to her. Such is the tradition preserved by PLUTARCH,² and it was a masterly stroke to represent Antony as the slave to a foreign queen. Indeed the gifts of whole provinces which Antony made to the queen excited universal indignation at Rome,³ and naturally this matter was kept before the Romans by Octavian.

Another affair of no little importance enabled Octavian still further to arouse public opinion against Antony. In 35 B. C., Octavian permitted his sister Octavia, Antony's wife, to sail off to join her husband. Most people said that he did so "not as a favor to her, but in order that, if she were scorned and neglected, this might furnish him a fitting excuse for war."⁴ This reason bears the earmarks of Antony's propaganda, no matter how much lay behind it. Octavia was, at any rate, rudely turned back by Antony, who now married Cleopatra after having acknowledged his children by her, Alexander "Sun" and Cleopatra "Moon", as they were called.⁵ To have two wives at one and the same time was contrary to Roman law and a status which no Roman previously had dared to adopt.⁶ This fact placed Antony in a very bad light at Rome, and to meet the outcry set up by the

¹ DIO, xlix, 32, 1-2.

² Ant., xxxvii, 4.

³ Ibid., xxxvi, 1-4. DIO, xlix, 32, 4-5. J. DOBIAS, *La deuxième donation d'Antoine à Cléopâtre en 34*, in *Listv Filologicke*, 1922, 183-195, and 257-263, shows that two donations to Cleopatra are confused by DIO and PLUTARCH, and that JOSEPHUS gives a correct account of the events in Syria in 36-34. In 37-36 Antony gave

Ituraea and Chalcis to Cleopatra; in 34 he gave her the remainder of Coele Syria, Jericho, a part of Arabia, and the Phoenician coast.

⁴ PLUTARCH, Ant., liii, 1; cf. GARDTHAUSEN, *Die Scheidung der Oktavia und die Hochzeit der Kleopatra*, in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 1917, 158-169.

⁵ PLUTARCH, Ant., xxxvi, 3.

⁶ ID., *Syncretis Dem. and Ant.*, iv, 1.

Romans and doubtless stimulated by Octavian,¹ Antony appears to have propounded a remarkable and seemingly unfortunate theory, though perhaps it may have been cunningly attributed to him to place him in an even worse position: "However," writes PLUTARCH, "since he was good at taking pride in his disgraceful acts, he said that the greatness of Roman power was manifested not by what they took but by what they bestowed. And he also stated that nobleness of breed was amplified by successive begetting of many kings. So, at least, his own progenitor had been begotten by Heracles, who did not confine his succession to a single womb nor fear Solonian laws and regulations of conception, and who gave free course to nature, leaving behind many beginnings and foundations of families."² If this theory was falsely ascribed to Antony, the purpose would have been to shock Roman feelings and to credit him with the tendencies of an Oriental despot,³ and other evidence of such an attempt will presently be treated.

In 34 Antony brought upon himself no little discredit by seizing Artavasdes, king of Armenia, by false promises, and taking him in golden chains to Alexandria, where he celebrated a veritable triumph.⁴ For a time it served Octavian's ends to suppress Antony's despatches about the Armenian king, and the reasons are probably those given by DIO, namely, that Octavian pitied that king with whom he had been in secret communication in order to harm Antony, and likewise because he begrudged Antony a triumph.⁵ Octavian, as usual, seems to have employed diplomacy and deception to circumvent Antony in the East, and it would not be surprising if Antony's despatches contained accusations that Octavian had suborned Artavasdes to work against the Roman cause. Octavian could not have permitted such damaging charges to be made public. Soon, when the current of popular feeling was running high, he announced Antony's treachery toward the Armenian.

The celebration of the triumph worked to Antony's disadvantage at Rome, for it strengthened the point, made by Octavian somewhat later, that Antony wished to transfer the capital of the Empire to Alexandria. PLUTARCH says, of the triumph at Alexandria: "In this did Antony especially offend the Romans, since for Cleopatra he granted to the Egyptians the fair and holy rites of his native land."⁶

As we have seen, Octavian temporarily suppressed certain reports, but he was equally anxious to have others which arrived in 32 B. C. published. The two pro-Antonian con-

¹ At Athens, where Antony had "wed" the goddess Athena, someone now wrote on his statue this formula of divorce: "Octavia and Athena to Antony: *res tuas tibi habe*" (SENECA, *Suasoriae*, i, 6.) This may have been the work of Octavian's agents, though the Athenians had enough grounds of their own to hate Antony.

² *Ant.*, xxxvi, 1-4.

³ A similar story, doubtless malicious gossip set afoot by enemies, is told about Julius Caesar. SUTONIUS

(*Julius*, lii, 3) writes: "Helvius Cinna, a tribune of the people, admitted to several that he had a bill written and prepared which Caesar had ordered him to introduce in his absence. It provided that Caesar be permitted to marry any woman and as many as he wished in order to beget children."

⁴ DIO, xlix, 39-40; VELLEIUS, ii, 82, 3.

⁵ xlix, 41, 5-6.

⁶ *Ant.*, i, 4.

suls of the year, Sosius and Domitius, prevented their publication, for in them Antony asked confirmation for his acts: he had given Ptolemy the name Caesarion and the title "King of Kings", claiming that he did this out of honor for Caesar, but really to cast reproach on Octavian as being only an adopted son of Julius, while Caesarion was a real son. Moreover he had made huge grants of territory to Cleopatra and his children by her, and had given the queen the title of "Queen of Kings".¹

These matters Octavian reported to the Senate and denounced to the people at frequent intervals in an attempt to inflame the multitude against his rival; likewise he stressed Antony's desertion of Octavia, and the fact that Cleopatra appeared in public as the New Isis.² At the same time he claimed that Antony held Egypt and other territory which he had not drawn by lot, that he had encompassed the death of Sextus Pompey, that his treachery toward Artavasdes had brought discredit upon Rome. He demanded half of Antony's spoils, and heaped reproaches upon him because of Cleopatra and his children by her and his gifts to them, but most of all he complained because Antony had named Ptolemy Caesarion and thus tried to assert that he was Caesar's son.³ The last point was fraught with grave danger for Octavian, for his claim to power rested almost solely on his adoption by Caesar, on the fact that he was *Divi filius*. Antony, realizing this, was making a play to win the sympathy of the followers of Caesar for Caesarion, who he asserted was Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar. It was almost certainly as a counterblast that GAIUS OPPILIUS, a friend of the dead Caesar and now evidently a partisan of Octavian, contradicted in a pamphlet the statement of Antony that Caesarion was Caesar's child.⁴

Equally alarming was Antony's attempt to force Octavian to abandon his power as triumvir or else accept the onus of being responsible for the continuance of this office. That Octavian was frequently charged with obstructing the restoration of the republic is shown by Suetonius' statement that he first thought of restoring it immediately after the downfall of Antony "because he remembered that Antony had rather frequently said that Octavian stood in the way of its restoration."⁵ Antony's move was purely propaganda, an attempt to turn feeling against Octavian. Through Cleopatra Antony could control the East with or without an official status, but Octavian, dealing with Italy and the West, must be in office or fall.

For some time before the open outbreak Antony kept sending counter-accusations against Octavian, making the following charges: Octavian had seized Sicily and refused to share it and had done the same with Sextus Pompey's army as well as with Lepidus' army, territory and revenues. Besides he had never returned the ships which he had

¹ Dio, xlix, 41, 1-4; Grueber, in *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Series, xi, 1911, p. 150, calls attention to coins of Antony which have on their reverse a bust of Cleopatra with the stem of a prow behind, and the inscription *Cleopatrae Reginae Regum Filiorum Regum*.

² Plutarch, *Ant.*, liv, 3-6.

³ Dio, I, 1, 4-5.

⁴ Suetonius, *Julius*, lii, 2.

⁵ *Aug.*, xxviii, 1.

borrowed from Antony, and he had distributed almost all of Italy to his own soldiers, leaving nothing for those of Antony.¹

Octavian made, it seems, an insolent reply to Antony. He stated that he had deposed Lepidus for abuse of office, and that he would share his spoils whenever Antony would share Armenia with him. Then he sarcastically added that Antony's troops had no claim to Italy, "for they held Media and Parthia which they had joined to the Roman possessions by contesting bravely under their commander."²

The charges made by both triumvirs were in a way intended as a justification of their conduct, and their communications were made by private letters, by public addresses of Octavian, and by public messages from Antony. The constant sending back and forth of envoys enabled them to reconnoitre each the other's position, and besides they wished to appear justified in their complaints.³ Both were courting public opinion, and attempting each to blacken the character of his rival.

Another form of propaganda is found in the building operations of the period. Octavian's temple of the Palatine Apollo was being erected when the temple of Apollo on the Campus Martius was rebuilt between 34 and 32 B. C. by Antony's friend, Sosius.⁴

One point on which Octavian relied in his attempt to discredit Antony at Rome was the fact that Antony had outraged Roman conventions by abandoning Octavia and marrying a foreign queen. Antony evidently tried to turn the tables by writing that Octavian first betrothed his daughter Julia to his [Antony's] son Antonius, and then to Cotiso, king of the Getae. At the same time, Antony continued, Octavian also had sought for himself in marriage the hand of Cotiso's daughter.⁵ In 34 Octavian seems to have made a determined effort to win the support of Cotiso, who, in spite of all Octavian could do, took the side of Antony in the end.⁶ One is forced to wonder what Livia would have thought of allowing Octavian to divorce her and marry Cotiso's daughter. If Octavian ever formed such a plan, it was doubtless Livia who frustrated it, and threw Cotiso into Antony's camp. It is, however, more probable that Antony chose to explain Octavian's attempt to make a purely political alliance as involving plans for matrimonial alliances as well. Such an interpretation of Octavian's diplomacy would provide Antony with an excellent

¹ PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, lv, 1-2. Cf. DIO, 1, 1, 2-3. He gives much the same causes and pretexts for the war, adding only that Antony demanded half the soldiers levied in parts of Italy which belonged to them both.

² PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, lv, 2. Of course they had neither Media nor Parthia, whence they had been driven in ignominious flight.

³ DIO, 1, 2, 1.

⁴ Cf. F. W. SHIPLEY, *The Building Activities of the Viri Triumphales from 44 B. C. to 14 A. D.*, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, ix, 1931, p. 27, n. 3: "At this time there was going on in Rome a good deal

of 'jockeying for position' between the friends of Octavian and the agents of Antony. The fact that Octavian was building a new temple of Apollo on the Palatine was sufficient reason for an Antonian to endeavor to offset any religious advantage which might thus accrue to Octavian, by rebuilding the old temple with its four hundred years of religious tradition behind it." Cf. SHIPLEY, C. *Sosius: His Coins, His Triumph, and His Temple of Apollo*, in *Washington University Studies*, New Series, No. 3, 1930, p. 84.

⁵ Suetonius, *Aug.*, lxiii, 2.

⁶ Mommsen, *Res Gestae*, 2d ed., 1883, p. 130.

counter-charge to the rebukes made against him for his relations with the foreigner, Cleopatra.

Indeed Antony took occasion to heap upon Octavian charges of adultery which were very likely not without considerable foundation.¹ The charges are given by Suetonius as follows: "That Octavian practised adultery not even his friends deny, although they indeed offer the excuse that he did so not from lust, but from policy, in order more easily to learn the plans of his opponents through their women. Mark Antony, besides, reproached him for his hasty marriage with Livia, and because he took the wife of an ex-consul from the dining room in the presence of her husband into a bedroom and brought her back to the banquet with her ears glowing and her hair in disorder."² He also rebuked Octavian for divorcing Scribonia because she had too freely complained of the excessive influence of a mistress,³ and for having mistresses sought for him by his friends, who stripped and inspected married women and maidens just as if the slave-dealer Toranius were offering them for sale. Antony also writes to Octavian as follows in an intimate way while he was still not yet publicly or privately his enemy:⁴ "What has changed you? Is it because I have relations with the queen? She is my wife. Am I starting now or did I begin nine years ago? Do you in short lie with Drusilla alone? Good luck to you, if, when you shall read this letter, you have not been with Tertulla, or Terentilla,⁵ or Rufilla, or Salvia Titisenia or all of them. Or what difference does it make where or with whom you take your pleasure?"⁶

On the first of January, 32 B. C., the new consuls, Antony's friends, entered upon office, and one of them, Sosius, spoke in praise of Antony and against Octavian.⁷ Thereupon Octavian went with a bodyguard to the Senate, took a seat with the consuls, and defended himself, at the same time making accusations against Sosius and Antony.⁸ The next move came from the consuls, who both fled from Rome to Antony. After their flight, Octavian summoned the senators and discussed the situation, while Antony for his part called together a sort of senate composed of his friends, and decided on war. Two of Antony's followers, Titius and Plancus, perhaps because of a quarrel with Antony or Cleopatra, then went over to the side of Octavian.⁹ It is also quite possible that bribery may have had something to do with their desertion of Antony.

¹ Cf. Suetonius, *Aug.*, lxxi, 1: "He kept his reputation for wantonness and afterwards also, as they say, he was rather inclined to violate maidens who were sought out for him from every side even by his wife." There is probably something behind all this scandal, though most of it should doubtless be disregarded.

² Carcopino, *loc. cit.*, has proposed with the greatest probability that the wife of the consular was none other than Livia, and that the banquet is that described by Dio, xlviii, 44, 3.

³ This probably refers to Livia.

⁴ The year is probably 32, and relations were strained, to say the least.

⁵ Evidently a reference to Terentia, the wife of Octavian's friend Maecenas.

⁶ *Aug.*, lxix, 1-2.

⁷ Dio, I, 2, 3.

⁸ *Id.*, I, 2, 5.

⁹ *Id.*, I, 3, 2.

At any rate they proved invaluable to Octavian in more ways than one. Plancus brought terrible accusations against Antony in the Senate,¹ and the two turncoats told Octavian about Antony's will, which was on deposit with the Vestal Virgins. Octavian demanded the document, and the Vestals were unwilling to surrender it, but told him that he could, of course, take it, which he promptly did. He is said to have read the will in private, marked certain passages, and then read it aloud to the senators, who were evidently at first distressed at the reading of a man's will before his death. Soon, however, their feelings were changed when they heard the contents read.² Before the items are mentioned, it is necessary to consider recent discussion of the authenticity of the will.

ROSTOVITZEFF has suggested that the alleged will of Mark Antony which was read by Octavian in the senate to incite the Romans was really forged by Octavian. ROSTOVITZEFF writes, "The legend [that Antony was intending to make Italy a province of Egypt] was confirmed by Octavian's publication of the last will and testament of Antony, which he was alleged to have deposited with the Vestal Virgins. It is hard to believe in the authenticity of this document, unless we assume that Antony was practically insane," and in a note he adds, "I cannot help thinking that the testament of Antony was a forgery of Augustus and of Antony's two former friends, Munatius Plancus and M. Titius, who betrayed him because of Cleopatra and fled to Rome. It was all-important for Augustus to convince Italy that Antony was a slave to Cleopatra and almost a madman. (Plut., *Ant.*, 60; and Cassius Dio, 10, 5, 3). Without the whole-hearted support of Italy Augustus was lost, especially as the heavy taxation aroused general indignation all over the peninsula. Little wonder if Augustus had recourse to forging a document which nobody but a madman would have kept in Rome. The trick was successful. *If Antony protested*,³ his protests could not be heard in Rome and were soon drowned by the tumult of the war. Cp. V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I, p. 349 ff." ⁴

As RICE HOLMES has pointed out, of the alleged contents of the will, namely, a reaffirmation that Julius Caesar was the father of Caesarion, a bequest of legacies to Antony's children by Cleopatra, and a clause directing that he be buried beside Cleopatra, the first two are substantiated by definite acts of Antony. RICE HOLMES continues: "Does he [Rostovtzeff] disbelieve the statement of Plancus and Titius that Antony's will, which they professed to have witnessed and sealed, was in the custody of the Vestals, and mean that Plancus, Titius, and Octavian, drafting a fictitious document, concocted the whole story? Or, admitting that Octavian took the will from the Vestals, does he believe that what he read in the Senate was a forged version? In the former case the Vestals would have denied that the will had been deposited with them; in the latter they would have exposed and

¹ VELLEIUS, ii, 83, 3.

² PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, lviii, 3-4.

³ My italics.

⁴ *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 1926, 29 and 494, n. 24.

denounced the forgery. The statement of Plutarch, [Ant., 58, 2 ; cp. Dio, I, 3, 4] that many were scandalized by the seizure and disclosure of the will is credible enough ; but to provoke the revered Virgins by forgery would indeed have been ' practically insane. ' " ¹

Despite RICE HOLMES' closing remark, it does not seem by any means certain that Octavian would not have risked provoking the Virgins by forgery had it been necessary to attain his ends. On the other hand the general confirmation of the alleged terms of the will by actual and undoubted proceedings of Antony is an argument in favor of the authenticity of the will. And the arguments of RICE HOLMES may be strengthened by other important points.

The Roman public, according to every source we have, accepted the will as genuine, nor have we any tradition of its authenticity being denied by Mark Antony or anyone else. Our sources, and SUETONIUS especially, contain much information and political propaganda taken directly from Antony or pro-Antonian sources, yet there is nowhere a hint that the will was forged, or that Antony denied that it was his. If the document had been a forgery, Antony would surely not have missed the opportunity to charge Octavian with forgery in those very letters which SUETONIUS had at his disposal in some form and from which he quotes. It is scarcely credible that SUETONIUS and all later historians have passed over even a rumor that Antony charged Octavian with forgery. How well it would have suited TACITUS, for example, to incorporate such a report among the sayings he puts in the mouths of anti-Caesarians after Augustus' death !

In fact, we have, it would seem, a tradition that Antony *admitted* that the will was actually his, and this tradition seems to have been overlooked in the discussion of ROSTOVZEFF's theory. DIO CASSIUS gives what purports to be a speech of Antony to his soldiers at Actium, and in the address is found the following : " Now as for the man who dared while I was still alive and had so great power and was conquering the Armenians, to *search for my will, to take it by force from those who had received it, to open it and read it in public*, how should a man like that spare either you or anybody else ? " ²

In this speech DIO has Antony acknowledge that the will was his. Of course objection may be offered on the ground that the speech is only a fabrication of DIO's. The other points of the speech are, however, consonant with the actual situation, and I am inclined to believe that DIO is here giving, in his (DIO's) own language to be sure, the salient features of Antony's case as he stated it to the soldiers in his campaign before Actium, whether these features were expressed in a single speech at the time stated or not. It also seems significant that DIO, with the material he had to draw upon, evidently felt he had grounds to represent Antony as admitting the authenticity of the conditions of the will. ROSTOVZEFF's theory is indeed novel, and Octavian, had he felt the need, would perhaps have

¹ *Op. cit.*, 246-247.

² I, 20, 7.

indulged in forgery to discredit his rival, but in this case all the evidence of our sources seems to disprove the theory of a forged will.

The contents of the will served in the main to reaffirm certain of Antony's acts. He stated therein that Caesarion was Caesar's son, made enormous presents to his own children by Cleopatra, and gave directions for his funeral.¹ These directions were most damaging, for he had ordered that, if he should die in Rome, his body be sent to Cleopatra for burial in Egypt. This, as well as the other terms of the will, caused the indignant Romans to believe the report which was being circulated to the effect that Antony, if successful in his ambitions, would bestow the city of Rome upon Cleopatra, and transfer the capital of the empire to Alexandria.² Fear of the Orient prevailed even over the friendship which many Romans had for Antony, and in their consternation many of his friends censured his conduct.³

At this time Octavian's interests were served not only by Titius and Plancus, but also by Calvisius, who made the following charges against Antony, most of which were even then considered false: Antony had bestowed upon Cleopatra the great library at Pergamum; at a banquet he had arisen and rubbed her feet; he consented to have the Ephesians greet her in his presence as mistress; when he was dispensing justice on the tribunal he was accustomed to receive and read love-letters from her inscribed on onyx and crystal; finally, he had left a trial where he was presiding in the Forum in order to follow the litter of Cleopatra when she chanced to pass by.⁴ Whether these stories were true or false, they show the subtlety of Octavian's propaganda. He did not wish to give the impression that the oncoming struggle was a civil war to be waged against a Roman commander and Roman troops. It was much more advantageous to make it out to be a foreign war carried on against a dangerous Egyptian queen. Antony's part was explained by the party of Octavian as that of a Roman general who been bewitched and enslaved by Cleopatra. Hence Antony was reviled as no longer master of himself. He called Cleopatra "queen" and "mistress", acted as gymnasiarch at her request, and presented her with a bodyguard of Roman legionaries whose shields bore her name.⁵ He danced attendance on her everywhere and adopted Oriental ways, terming his headquarters "the palace", wearing Oriental garb and carrying an Oriental dagger, reclining in public upon a gilded couch

¹ DIO, I, 3, 5, and PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, lviii, 3-4.

² DIO, I, 4, 1-2. The same form of propaganda seems to have been employed against Julius Caesar, for Suetonius, *Julius*, lxxix, 3, writes: "Nay, the rumor had even gone forth that Caesar would move to Alexandria or Ilium, at the same time transferring the wealth of the empire and draining Italy by levies, while care of the city would be left to his friends." Cf. CHARLESWORTH, *The Fear of the Orient in the Roman Empire*, in *Cambridge Historical Journal*, ii, 1926, 1-16, and BARBAGALLO,

L'Oriente e l'Occidente nel mondo romano, in *Nuova Rivista Storica*, vi, 1922, 141-147, and especially 148-152.

³ DIO, I, 4, 2.

⁴ PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, lviii, 5; lix, 1.

⁵ Cf. SERVIUS on the *Aeneid*, viii, 696: "In the *Commemoratio Vitae Suae* Augustus says that Antony ordered his legions to keep guard at Cleopatra's palace and to obey her nod or command."

and posing as Osiris or Dionysus for portraits or statues, while Cleopatra took the part of Isis or Selene.¹

Octavian's wishes were fulfilled, and war was declared not against Antony but against Cleopatra with her creatures Mardion, Pothinus, Iras, and Charmion.² No action at all was taken against Antony, for Octavian knew that he would not desert her, and this would make it appear that Antony had voluntarily taken sides against his native land, although he himself had not been injured.³

Certain stories found in PLUTARCH are probably evidence of Octavian's propaganda. Signs indicative of divine wrath against Antony are the following: Pisaurum, colonized by Antony, was swallowed by chasms in the earth. A marble statue of Antony at Alba gave off sweat for many days, though the sweat was frequently wiped away; while he was at Patrae the Heracleum was destroyed by lightning (he claimed descent from Heracles); at Athens the Dionysus in the battle of the Giants was hurled into the theatre by the wind (he was popularly identified with Dionysus), and the same gale prostrated the colossal figures of Eumenes and Attalus at Athens upon which Antony's name had been written; under the stem of the flagship of Cleopatra, called Antonius, swallows made their nest, but other swallows drove them out and destroyed their young.⁴ Such tales might work great harm to Antony's cause by influencing the superstitious.

A similar piece of propaganda may be seen in PLUTARCH's report that an Egyptian, either to oblige Cleopatra or speaking the truth, told Antony that his fortune, though brilliant and great, was obscured by that of Octavian. The soothsayer advised him, therefore, to keep as far as possible from Octavian, adding, "for your *daimon* fears his; and although it is spirited and exalted when it is by itself, it become poorer and less noble when his is near."⁵ I agree with ROSE that this seems to be pro-Octavian propaganda.⁶

Both sides, of course, did their utmost to win the favor of the troops. Antony promised to restore the republic two months after he should have gained the victory,⁷ though he cannot have been sincere. Besides he sent gold in every direction in Italy in an attempt to shake the allegiance of Octavian's men. And Octavian, not to be outdone, made liberal donations to the soldiers.⁸

Doubtless the speeches assigned by DIO to the leaders before Actium contain some of

¹ DIO, I, 5. He adds that her favorite oath was by her intention to dispense justice on the Capitol; the story is probably a fabrication of Octavian's. HORACE, in *Epode ix*, especially 11-16, reflects the opinion Octavian had induced in the minds of the Romans that the war was against a foreign woman and her eunuchs, and that Antony was effeminate and enslaved by love. PROPERTIUS, II, 16, 39-40, and IV, 6, 21-22, echoes this official view of the Caesarian party.

² PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, lx, 1.

³ DIO, I, 6, 1.

⁴ *Ant.*, lx, 2-3.

⁵ *Ant.*, xxxiii, 2, and *Moralia*, 319 F - 320 A.

⁶ *The Departure of Dionysus*, in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Liverpool*, xi, 1924, 25-30.

⁷ Once more we find him bidding for the support of the republicans.

⁸ DIO, I, 7, 1-3.

the points actually set forth by the commanders on that occasion. Antony is represented as speaking after this fashion: Octavian was a weakling, never himself victor in any important conflict. He had destroyed many followers of Lepidus and Pompey, exacted contributions in Italy, seized and read his (Antony's) will, and was aiming at sovereign power.¹ Besides he was trying to set the Antonians at variance.²

Octavian's speech is a repetition of the grievances he had used before at Rome: the war was against an Oriental, against a woman, to whom Antony was enslaved and to whom he had given vast possessions of the Roman people. He cited Antony's posing as Dionysus,³ his desertion of Octavia, his luxury and effeminacy, his flight from Praespa, his impiety, his treachery, and finally he pointed out that Antony's soldiers were deserting him daily.⁴ Doubtless there was considerable exaggeration of the enemy's faults on each side at Actium.

After the battle of Actium and the flight of Antony to Egypt the propaganda continued. Various stories about Actium have been correctly recognized by TARN⁵ as originating in propaganda. In PLINY is this report about an *echeneïs* or sucking-fish: *fertur Actiaco Marte tenuisse praetoriam navem Antoni properantis circumire et exhortari suos, donec transiret in aliam*.⁶ On this TARN makes the following comment: "The story preserved by PLINY, then, represents an attempt by some one, in Antony's interest, to save Antony's face: he was forced to transfer himself to another ship, not because of Cleopatra, but because Fortune had interfered and had immobilised his flagship by means of the little creature to whom the Greeks had for centuries attributed the mysterious power of so holding a ship that neither wind nor oars could move her. The story must be very early; no one was going to trouble about saving Antony's face once he was dead, and seemingly those writers who were hostile to Augustus, like Aquilius Niger and Julius Saturninus, very soon vanished from circulation. The fragment then is contemporary."⁷

On the other hand Octavian wished to make certain features of the Actian campaign of advantage to himself, so he exaggerated the affair at Actium through his literary men.⁸ To their efforts must likewise be due the story that the land army, deserted by the commander, remained loyal to Antony for seven days after the battle. Of this episode TARN remarks: "Kromayer rightly recognised that the story is untrue (the story was invented to blacken Antony); they were merely negotiating terms, and Canidius, who was loyal, left them because he had to. The proof is that he went straight to Antony."⁹

¹ *Id.*, I, 20, 2-8.

² *Id.*, I, 21.

³ Cf. PLUTARCH, *Ant.*, lvi, 4, and lvii, 1, where Antony's connection with and patronage of the Dionysiac artists is stressed; cf. also JEANMAIRE, *La Politique Religieuse d'Antoine et de Cléopâtre*, in *Rev. Arch.*, xix, 1924, pp. 241-261. The excellent discussion of the religious propaganda of the period by IMMISCH, in *Aus Roms Zeitwende*, 1931, came into my hands too late to be used.

⁴ Dio, I, 24, 2-27, 8; 28, 3; 20, 2-8; 28, 5.

⁵ "The Battle of Actium," in *J.R.S.*, xxi, 1931, 173-199.

⁶ *N. H.*, xxxii, 3.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 185-186.

⁸ Cf. TARN, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 194. TARN adds *à propos* of the desertion of the army to Octavian: "No doubt Octavian's propaganda helped, and the army of the third triumvir, Lepidus, had already shown them the way."

The reports, moreover, that Cleopatra deserted Antony at Actium and tried her wiles on Octavian — who resisted them — at Alexandria are both untrue. Of the latter, TARN says, "The story then was written, not to vilify Cleopatra, but to glorify the continence of Octavian (whose morals in reality were no better than Antony's); that is, it was some literary man's invention." ¹

Antony, when at Alexandria he had received demands from Octavian, reminded him of their former friendship and kinship, defended his relations with Cleopatra, and "recounted the amours which they once had had together and their youthful wantoning together." ² This sounds very much like a similar reply made by Antony in the letter which is in part preserved in Suetonius. ³ Antony's attempt at reconciliation failed, and soon there was an engagement between the troops in Egypt in which Antony at first won a slight success. He thereupon was encouraged, and had pamphlets shot into Octavian's camp promising the soldiers fifteen hundred *drachmae*. ⁴ All, however, proved in vain, and Antony and Cleopatra took their own lives.

HORACE, after the downfall of Cleopatra and Antony, wrote of the queen "*quidlibet impotens sperare fortunaque dulci ebria*" and told how Octavian reduced to real terrors her mind "*lymphatam Mareotico*." ⁵ As we have seen, Octavian's war against Cleopatra was really against Antony, and here in HORACE every Roman must have seen the figure of the *ebrius Antonius* behind the *ebria regina*. The poem fitted into the picture which Octavian's propaganda had painted, and this propaganda left its mark on the writers of the period in both prose and poetry. Antony had played the part of Dionysus successfully in the East, but found himself thereby exposed to charges of Bacchic revelry and drunkenness. As a result, just before Actium, he had written what must have been intended as a reply to Octavian's propaganda, namely, a monograph entitled *De Sua Ebrietate* in which he "tried to defend himself." ⁶

From the material above presented, and from the development of this investigation, we may gather, I believe, additional information to add to the rather scant notices in the histories of Latin Literature which deal with the political writing of Marcus Antonius. SCHANZ has the following: "*Der Flugschriftenlitteratur muss hier auch mit einigen Worten Erwähnung geschehen. In der bewegten Zeit der Bürgerkriege stellte sich das Pamphlet, das nicht selten die Form des Briefes wählte, mit Notwendigkeit ein. Selbst der milde Augustus sah sich hie und da gezwungen, Angriffen entgegenzutreten, so z. B. den verleumderischen Briefen des Antonius, in denen Augustus der Thuriner genannt wurde.*" ⁷

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

² Dio, li, 8, 1.

³ *Aug.*, lxix, 2.

⁴ Dio, li, 10, 2.

⁵ *Carm.*, i, 37.

⁶ PLINY, *N. H.*, xiv, 148; cf. SCOTT, "Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's '*De Sua Ebrietate*'", in *C. P.*, xxiv, 1929, 133 ff.

⁷ *Geschichte der röm. Litteratur*, II Teil, 1 Hälfte,

1911, 553. TEUFFEL-SCHWABE, sec. 209, 3, merely adds: "Darauf [*De Sua Ebrietate*] sowie auf seinen Briefwechsel mit Octavian (wovon Proben bei Sueton, z. B. *Aug.* 69), bezieht sich OVID, ex. Pont. I, 1, 23: *Antoni scripta leguntur*. E. SCHELLE, de M. Antoni quae supersunt epp., *Frankenb. i. S.*, 1883." The work of SCHELLE consists, as far as I can discover, of Pars I, and gives little information about the attacks of Antony upon Octavian.

As we have seen, there must have been a considerable amount of letter-writing between Octavian and Antony. Octavian evidently kept a file of all the letters which passed between them, for PLUTARCH tells us that when Octavian heard of Antony's death he withdrew into his tent. "Then, taking the letters and calling his friends, he read the letters aloud, showing how reasonably and justly he had written, and how coarse and arrogant Antony had always been in his replies."¹ This collection must have been published, perhaps by Octavian in the same spirit which prompted him to read the letters to his friends, namely, to justify his own cause. These epistles, however, seem to have been written by way of propaganda, and many copies were doubtless in circulation. Nor were they officially suppressed, for OVID writes, "*Antoni scripta leguntur.*"²

TACITUS was familiar with the letters and the false charges contained in them, for he writes: "*Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent.*"³

SUETONIUS certainly had ANTONY'S *Epistulae* before him, and he drew heavily upon them since they contained much material for a biographer who was endeavoring to entertain his reader. The charges which SUETONIUS mentions on the authority of Antony are concerned with his paternal (*Aug.*, ii, 3, and vii, 1) and maternal (iv, 2) ancestors, weakness and non-participation in the sea-fight between Naulochus and Mylae (xvi, 2); with the responsibility for the continuance of the triumvirate and failure to restore the republic (xxviii, 1); with having won adoption through shameful relations with Julius Caesar (lxviii); with his hasty marriage with Livia and with wholesale adultery (lxix, 1-2). These are all the accusations which SUETONIUS assigns to Mark Antony, but they show his frequent use of Antony's letters, and it is likely that other similar accusations mentioned by SUETONIUS have the same source. In three of these cases (vii, 1; lxix, 2; lxx, 2), *Antoni epistulae* are mentioned as the source, but the other charges probably were also contained in the *epistulae*, though certain of them may have been also published in *edicta* alone, or both in the *epistulae* and in the *edicta*.

In a letter to Hirtius and Octavian Antony called the latter a *puer* and said that he owed everything to a name [*Caesar*]. He also mentioned Octavian's bribery of the troops. Manius read to the troops during the Perusine War a letter purporting to come from Antony in which he said that his troops should fight if anyone assailed his dignity. Just after the Perusine War there was evidently considerable interchange of letters between Antony and Octavian, for Antony refers to his ἀντιγράμματα. Preceding the final war Antony kept sending letters to Octavian and messages for the public consumption, while Octavian also wrote letters and harangued the people and Senate.

Antony, under attacks upon him for drunkenness, published just before Actium a mono-

¹ *Ant.*, lxxviii, 2.

² *Ex Pont.*, i, 1, 23.

³ *Ann.*, iv, 34.

graph "*De Sua Ebrietate*", in which he dared to defend himself. Perhaps Octavian wrote in defence of himself *ad Antonium*.¹ As we have seen, Octavian wrote at least one epigram for political purposes and of a most scurrilous character, in which he taunted Fulvia. In later life Octavian evidently kept in mind the charges that had been brought against him and tried to answer them in his *Memoirs*.

Twice Octavian had documents publicly burned. After the deposition of Lepidus in 36 B. C. he had writings relating to the civil strife destroyed. Did he include in these letters of Antony? I believe that he did not, but rather burned anonymous lampoons or handbills defaming his character or policies. The second occasion was after his assumption of the office of Pontifex Maximus, when he "collected from every side whatever prophetic books of Greek or Latin origin there were in circulation, anonymously, or under the names of authors of little repute, and burned over two thousand of them, retaining only the Sibylline books and making a choice even among those."² Did he this time, as before, take occasion to destroy documents of political nature?

In general Octavian apparently took the wise course of not attempting the impossible task of suppressing all expression of opposition: "He did not even dread the defamatory pamphlets about himself which were scattered in the senate-house, but took great pains to refute them; and not even trying to discover the authors, he merely proposed that hereafter those who published pamphlets or verses defamatory of anyone under another's name should be called to account.

"When he was attacked by scurrilous or spiteful jests of certain men, he replied to them in an edict, but he vetoed the making of any regulation to check freedom of speech in wills."³

Each leader had his staff of propagandists. On Antony's side we find JULIUS SATURNINUS, AQUILIUS NIGER, CASSIUS PARMENSIS, and ASINIUS POLLIO. The first two, at least, wrote in a tone hostile to Octavian to judge by the single citation of each in SUETONIUS; CASSIUS has been discussed at length above; POLLIO wrote "*contra maledicta Antonii*."⁴ LUCIUS ANTONIUS must have indulged in written denunciations as well as oral ones. There were anonymous notes and verses, some of which may have been written by the *obtrectatores* of the Perusine War. CASSIUS PATAVINUS and JUNIUS NOVATUS wrote against Octavian, though at what period I cannot say.

Octavian had able friends to defend him or assail the foe. CICERO, in the period before Mutina, had taken up the cudgels in his defence against Antony's charges. *Messalla* wrote "*de Antonii statuis*" and "*contra Antonii litteras*";⁵ Octavian's friend, CALVISIUS, made charges against Antony which were perhaps, or rather, probably, written and

¹ CHARISIUS, *Art. Gram.* (ed. BARWICK), i, 129.

² SUETONIUS, *Aug.*, xxxi, 1.

³ *Id.*, *Aug.*, lv-lvi, 1.

⁴ CHARISIUS, *Art. Gram.* (ed. Barwick), i, 80.

⁵ *Id.*, *Art. Gram.*, i, 104, and 129. Cf. SCHANZ, *op. cit.*, 553 and GARDTHAUSEN, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, pp. 344-345.

published. PLANCUS (and probably TITIUS, too) brought charges against Antony in the Senate, and it is even probable that they were later published in some form, since VELLEIUS seems to have known their nature. HORACE and PROPERTIUS represented the interpretation which Octavian had placed upon Antony's relations with Cleopatra. GAIUS OPIUS, a friend of Julius Caesar, published a work in reply to Antony's claim that Caesarion was the true son of Julius Caesar.

In the whole period from 44 to 30 B. C. we find both Octavian and Antony making every effort in the struggle for power. Public opinion had to be won, and every sort of intrigue was to be used if there was any chance of its success. Spies, bribery, scurrility, personal attacks, foreign and domestic alliance, the dissemination of handbills in the enemy's camp, promising rewards or defaming the foe, the falsification or suppression of reports from the front, all bulk large in the politics of the civil war that consumed the republic and created the empire, phoenix-like, from the ashes. The manner in which nations were roused to war and the methods by which they prosecuted it in the first century before Christ differed very little from those of the twentieth century of our era.

TERRA SIGILLATA IN THE PRINCETON COLLECTION¹.

H. COMFORT.

(PLATE 1).

THE Princeton University Museum possesses a collection of *terra sigillata*, seven sherds, of which the inventory numbers are 908 A-G. These were all acquired at the same time and from the same dealer, but it will be shown that their provenance is not necessarily the same in all cases.

Dimensions. Sherd 908 A is the best preserved, including about fifteen centimeters of the rim and a considerable portion of the vase extending almost as low as the foot. Its inside diameter at the rim was 24.50 cm., and its normal thickness is .70 cm. It has a lip around the rim which brings the thickness at that point to .96 cm. At a distance of 4.70 cm. from the rim is an ovolo band 1.30 cm. wide. All the decorative reliefs are below this band, while above it is a nearly vertical surface which is plain except for the low lip mentioned. The form is thus that of DRAGENDORFF 37², and as far as can be judged the same is true of the others in the collection with the possible exception of Sherd G, which may be the hybrid Form 29/37³. Hence a diameter taken at the ovolo bands of the other sherds may be assumed to fall not far short of the diameter at the rims which are now missing. Sherd B has an inside diameter thus computed of 18 to 19 cm. and an average thickness of .55 cm. However, where the undecorated edge joins the ovolo, the thickness is only .42 cm. Sherd C has an inside diameter of about 26 cm. and a thickness which reduces from about .83 cm. at the lowest point to .73 cm. at the base

¹ The publication of these sherds has been very greatly assisted and improved by those to whom my thanks are due. These are, first, Professor Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., Director of the Museum, for his helpful interest and permission to withdraw the specimens from Princeton for study; the photographers of the Princeton Art Department for their patience in making a series of satisfactory photographs; Drs. Harnwell and Livingood

of the Physics Department for computing the diameters of the complete vases, — frequently from very inadequate measurable arcs; and finally, Mr. W. R. Van Liew, Jr., of the University, who has kindly executed the line-drawings in the text.

² *Bonner Jahrb.*, xcvi (1895), pl. iii, 37.

³ For the last, cf. OSWALD AND PRYCE, *Terra Sigillata* (hereafter cited by authors' names only), pl. xii, 5, etc.

of the ovolo band. Nothing higher than this is preserved, but this was probably like Sherd B in showing attenuation at the junction of the moulded part of the vase and the plain rim that gave added depth. Sherd D has an inside diameter of about 20 cm. and an average thickness of .47 cm. Sherd E has a thickness which reduces from 1.14 cm. at the lowest point (which quite closely approaches the unpreserved foot) to .52 cm. at the top of the sherd as preserved. Its diameter cannot be accurately computed. Sherd F has an inside diameter of 24 cm. and a thickness of .95 cm. Sherd G is preserved from a point among the relief decorations down to nearly the center of the base, including a part of the foot. The diameter of the complete bowl cannot now be determined, but the thickness of its wall was .80 cm. increasing to 1.05 cm. inside the foot. The interior depth of the foot is .70 cm.

Provenance. The provenance of these seven sherds is a matter of some question. The dealer sold them as having all come from Syria. This is categorically refuted in the cases of Sherds A, C, E, and F, which were inscribed in ink prior to sale "Nyerges Ujfalú," "Sütö" (*sic*), "Környe (Komárom)" (*sic*) and "Környe (Komárom)" respectively. Nyerges Ujfalú is situated on the south bank of the Danube in Hungary shortly before it turns south to Budapest. Sütö is about five miles up the river from it, also on the south bank. Környe is in the district of Komárom (which takes its name from the ancient *Cru-merum*), about thirty-five miles west of Budapest, somewhat south of the river. These four sherds hence came from the northeast corner of Pannonia Superior. They are, as nearly as can be judged, of more or less the same fabric in form, diameter and thickness.

The fact that the remaining three pieces lack the indication of provenance might indicate that they are *not* from the same district. Further, they differ in other ways from the four already treated. Sherds B and D (apparently of Form 37) have somewhat shorter diameters and appreciably thinner walls, as the figures given above show, and G is different from all the others in the sharp crudity of its technique and in its lustrous glaze. Altogether these characteristics and others to be treated in more detail below imply *a priori* that we have here three sherds unrelated to the first four in technique and place of manufacture, and possibly also in provenance. Unless the statement of the dealer that Syria is the origin of all seven be admitted as evidence applicable to the three (or to some of them), we are in the dark as to where Sherds B, D and G were found. Sherds A, C, E, and F thus claim our principal interest.

Sherd C (see Plate). This sherd carries the signature of COBNE[*rtus*], a name already well-known to students of provincial *sigillata*. OSWALD AND PRYCE consider that instead of two Cobnerti, one working at Lezoux (*Ledusus*, near Clermont-Ferrand in Auvergne) under Trajan and Hadrian, and the other at Rheinzabern (*Tabernae Rhenanae*, between Strassbourg and Mainz) under Hadrian and into the Antonine period¹, there was but one

¹ For these and other observations on Cobnertus, see the references listed by these authors, p. 281.

potter of the name, who with others migrated from Lezoux to Rheinzabern¹ and was there associated with Martinus. It is necessary to state this at the outset, since the authors' classification of Cobnertus might give the impression that they follow DÉCHELETTE in assuming two separate Cobnerti². The two periods of Cobnertus are in general quite distinguishable, and are indicated by the authors as *i* and *ii*.

The work of Cobnertus *ii* has been found at O-Szöny (*Brigetio*), about twenty miles up-stream from the town of Komárom. His exports to Britain at this time seem not to have been nearly as numerous as during his activity at Lezoux. A bowl of this earlier period, Cobnertus *i*, is figured by OSWALD AND PRYCE³. It does not bear any striking stylistic resemblances to our sherd except in the use of the demi-medallion enclosing a small animal figure. The decisive factor is probably the rouletted hatched lines dividing the panels of decoration from each other and from the ovolo (Fig. 1), and we must pause to weigh their evidence.

OSWALD AND PRYCE show an ovolo by Cobnertus⁴. This motive is separated from the field of design by a band of rouletted hatchings, which is a rare occurrence characteristic of Cobnertus and some others. The sherd from which this figure is taken was found at Corbridge, England, and the writers hesitate to assign this Corbridge find definitively to Cobnertus *ii* as against Cobnertus *i*. But more recently OSWALD⁵ has assigned this and a few other signatures found in England to Cobnertus *ii*, although the complete list of his signed sherds shows far more occurrences on the continent (including the Danubian provinces) than in England. Cobnertus *i*, on the other hand, is far better attested for England and France than for elsewhere on the continent, and to attribute to him a sherd from Pannonia would be to contradict all probability. Stylistically too our sherd is closer to Cobnertus of Rheinzabern, for the rouletted hatchings do not appear on the bowl of Cobnertus *i* mentioned above: he used an astragal to divide the ovolo from the design, and bead-rows to separate the panels. On the other hand, rouletted hatchings are found used for both purposes at Rheinzabern by Reginus, who also used demi-medallions to enclose small figures⁶. Reginus was a contemporary of Cobnertus *ii*. In consideration of the comparative styles and geographical distributions of the two periods of Cobnertus, I have no hesitation in attributing our sherd to his Rheinzabern period of activity.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18, note.

² For instance, DÉCHELETTE, *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine* (hereafter cited by author's name only), i, p. 179, etc., places Cobnertus *i* as early as Lezoux I (ca. A. D. 40-75), and KNORR, *Verzierte Terra sigillata-Gefässe von Cannstatt* (hereafter cited as *Cannstatt*), p. 34, says nothing of the second Cobnertus' having previously worked in Central Gaul, although he admits that some of his work "erinnert

im Stil.... sehr an gallische Gefässe der Zeit zwischen 80 und 110".

³ Pl. x, 6.

⁴ Pl. xxx, 85.

⁵ *Stamps on Terra Sigillata* (East Bridgford, Notts, 1931), pp. 81 f.

⁶ OSWALD AND PRYCE, pl. xii, 6, after *Cannstatt*, pl. xxxvii, 1.



Fig. 1. — Detail of Sherd C.

Below the rouletted hatching is a panel containing the demi-medallion (Fig. 1). This demi-medallion is bounded by a single, not double, ridge.¹ Within this demi-medallion is a sea-horse facing left.² Below this panel is a fragmentary Mercury (Fig. 2). His



Fig. 2. — Detail of Sherd C.

attitude is roughly the same as DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 52, figs. 296 and 296 *a*, except for the turn of the head in the latter figure and the clearness of the details. With the aid of these figures we may be sure that his left arm pointed across his body and that his right hand held the *caduceus* at about hip-level, although this would not be apparent from our sherd as preserved. His attitude postulates another figure for whose benefit he is pointing, but as Déchelette observes, "*les représentations isolées de ce Mercure sont nombreuses*", and this is a case in point. To the left and right of these panels are figures that cannot now be identified, save that the figure to the left was human (Fig. 3).³ It occupied a panel



Fig. 3. — Detail of Sherd C.

extending vertically through the full area of the design, and the figure to the right probably did also. The manufacturer's signature is placed along the lower left panel boundary.

¹ For the distinction, compare our Sherd F, or OSWALD AND PRYCE, pl. xiv, 8, which shows both types.

² Imaginary sea-monsters are fairly frequent at Lezoux and elsewhere. This figure most closely approaches DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 10, fig. 32 (*Paternus*); the swing of its tail is unlike *Cannstatt* xix, 1 and xxxii, 7, which are otherwise fairly close to *Cobnertus* in style.

³ Is she Diana, girt at the waist with left arm bent

at the elbow and raised? The right hand (not clearly shown in the photograph) is at the hip and holds some straight object. I cannot identify this figure with any shown by DÉCHELETTE or in *Cannstatt* or in KNORR'S *Verzierte Terra-sigillata-gefässe von Rottweil* (hereafter cited as *Rottweil*); cf. especially DÉCHELETTE, ii, 17-19, for the usual Diana types.

Sherd F (see Plate) is unsigned, and at least for the present its precise attribution must remain in doubt. Nevertheless it has characteristics which will help us to place it with

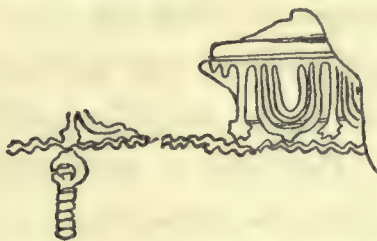


Fig. 4. — Detail of Sherd F.

a reasonable degree of accuracy. Its decorative elements are as follows: (1) At the top of the decorated area is an ovolo of which the U-element is composed of a central tongue and two bordering ridges, while the tongue between the U-elements is spaced mid-way, unlike some of the others in our collection, and is terminated by a rosette of at least five points at the bottom (Fig. 4). (2) A wavy line divides the ovolo from the main part of the decorated area. (3) This main area is divided into panels, of which two seem to



Fig. 5. — Detail of Sherd F.



Fig. 6. — Detail of Sherd F.

have occupied its full depth, while the remaining area on the present sherd was divided by a horizontal bead-row. The vertical divisions are likewise bead-rows, and at their intersections with the horizontal bead-row and wavy line there are placed small rings fulfilling the purpose usually served by rosettes. (4) In a narrow vertical panel stands a "Caryatid composed of a male herm rising from a spray of acanthus leaves. This figure holds a small rolled-up piece of drapery with his left arm, which is bent above his head"¹ (Fig. 5). The base or plinth of this herm is unfortunately missing; DÉCHELETTE shows examples of variation in this detail which prove it to have been impressed separately from the Caryatid itself. Or it may have been finished below as restored by Mr. Van Liew in our drawing, following OSWALD AND PRYCE, pl. viii, 7, a bowl of Form 30 by Divixtus.

¹ DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 109.

(5) To the right of this panel is another full-length panel containing a medallion of two rings, the outer slightly thicker than the inner, within which is a figure of Abundantia holding in her left hand a cornucopia of which the point rests on her left leg somewhat above the knee (Fig. 6). The shaft-like element rising behind her as though she held a spear or wand is an imperfection in the mould, as may be shown by comparison with other figures of the same type. Her head is quite separate from her shoulders and is quite coarse in workmanship. Below this medallion is a hint of some other decoration in the same panel, but it is entirely broken away. (6) To the left of the central Caryatid panel is a large area below which was a smaller one. Only a small corner of the latter remains and there is no way of telling what its decoration was. The former however



Fig. 7. — Detail of Sherd F.

contains the forepart of a springing horse above whose nose floats what may be a fold of drapery waving from the unpreserved figure of a rider (Fig. 7). To judge from what remains, there was but one horse, which, together with the position of the mantle, eliminates the identification of this type with that of Helios as occasionally found.¹ (7) A technological observation of interest is furnished by the break which runs through the horse's chest. The potter first impressed a thin layer of clay into the moulds to fill the reliefs, and then laid on a thicker layer to form the walls of the vase. But at just the point mentioned a tiny air-space separated the two strata of clay, which never completely fused together and betray the technique employed by preserving a small crack between them. Elsewhere in this and the other sherds the fusion is perfect.

We have already mentioned Divixtus as making use of the Caryatid found on our Sherd F. Divixtus was active at Lezoux in the second and third periods of its local industry, between which the division falls roughly at A. D. 110, and continued his activity into Antonine times. One type of Lezoux III is characterised by "metope or panel ornament, the panels being occupied by large medallions, demi-medallions and figure-subjects."² It continued the "divided metope" which first appeared in the Flavian period, *i. e.* the division of a panel by a horizontal line or bead-row; "the undivided metope may, however,

¹ Cf. DÉCHELETTE, ii, pp. 15 f.

² OSWALD AND PRYCE, p. 20.

persist into the second century, as in the bowl by Divixtus.... Caryatides occupying some of the metope compartments are especially characteristic of Divixtus."¹ The general scheme on our sherd conforms well to OSWALD AND PRYCE'S observation on the decoration of the Antonine period, "Perhaps the most striking feature is the preponderance of figure-subjects, especially those of a mythological character. This statement applies more particularly to the ware of Central Gaul,"² in which Lezoux was situated. Besides the use of the Caryatid motive, Divixtus also occasionally used wavy lines and bead-rows on the same vase, a rare occurrence.³ The wavy line used here had been a characteristic demarcating motive in the Flavian products of South Gaul and was continued in the work of transitional potters; but generally speaking it is relatively uncommon in the typical second century fabric of Lezoux. This combination of the two motives on one vase is the most important consideration in the attribution of our present sherd, and would strongly tempt me to assign it to Divixtus even apart from the evidence of the Caryatid, the characteristic rosetted terminals of the ovolo-tongue,⁴ and the general stylistic correspondence between our sherd and those of the period and locality in which Divixtus worked. If an attribution to Divixtus be correct, it furnishes a unique occurrence of this potter from the Danube district. Indeed, his work has been chiefly found in Britain.⁵

But unfortunately we cannot be sure that Divixtus is the correct answer to our problem. DÉCHELETTE'S examples are somewhat at variance with OSWALD AND PRYCE'S statement regarding the preponderating favor with which Divixtus regarded the Caryatid figure, for he quotes nine occurrences of it on the work of Advocisus, one for Butrio, two for Cinnamus, one for Decimanus, three for Divixtus, one for Jullinus, and two for Libertus. Naturally variations occur between the types, but almost any one of them might be ours. If a second choice of attribution be necessary, I should favor Cinnamus as the potter of our sherd, for in addition to the Caryatid he used a similar though not identical figure of Abundantia seated,⁶ and this figure is not listed by DÉCHELETTE as appearing on the work of any other potter. The chief difference between our Abundantia and that of Cinnamus is that the latter is "*assise de profil à droite sur un siège à dossier et à pieds de lion*", while ours lacks any pretense of a seat with lion's-claw feet.⁷ A support for this attribution lies in the predilection of Cinnamus for an equestrian group, although his group does not conform exactly to the remains of ours.⁸ If Cinnamus was the potter of our sherd, the date

¹ *Ibid.*, 92 and pl. viii, 7, already cited. The bowl figured shows undivided metopes only, but of course Divixtus was not limited to these.

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 159. For another example, unsigned, see *Cannstatt*, pl. xv, 12, with p. 29, a "rare type assignable to Lezoux."

⁴ OSWALD AND PRYCE, p. 150 and pl. xxx, 83.

⁵ OSWALD, *Stamps*, p. 107.

⁶ DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 79.

⁷ It should be added that KNORR, *Cannstatt*, xxiv, 1, shows on a signed vase of Cobnertus an Abundantia like ours in her lack of a chair. The execution seems rougher in his drawing, and there are differences in the draperies and in the swing of the legs. The medallion is also smaller proportionally, but the general attitude is quite similar and there is another figure in the same panel below the medallion, as in ours.

⁸ DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 33, fig. 156.

to which it is referable is not greatly altered, for he was a typical and prolific exponent of the third period of Lezoux. Several of his signed products have been found at Deutsch-Altenburg (*Carnuntum*) and elsewhere in the vicinity of the place of provenance of our sherd.¹ He represents a slightly more advanced tradition than Divixtus, however, and perhaps we should be surprised at finding on his work the mixture of demarcating motives already discussed as being characteristic of Divixtus. In any case, it is clearly not present in DÉCHELETTE, i, p. 202, fig. 124,² and the ovolo in this figure is also quite different.

Of the other potters mentioned as using the same Caryatid which appears on our Sherd F, Butrio and Libertus appear in the second period of Lezoux, *i. e.* prior to about A. D. 110, Advocisus appears in the third, Jullinus is assigned to no period, and Decimanus to neither period nor locality.³ Thus whether our potter be Divixtus, Cinnamus or another, we are presumably still dealing with a fabric of Central Gaul of the first half, and probably the first quarter, of the second century.

The other two sherds from Pannonia, A and E, are both in the "free style" of decoration.⁴ "Free style decoration occurs in two broad schemes; in the first century chiefly in friezes after the manner of many early prototypes, whilst in the second century it usually occupies the whole ornamented surface of the bowl. In bowls belonging to the transition from the first to the second century either one or the other of these schemes may be met with." Among the prominent exponents of free style were Germanus (Neronian-Flavian, at La Graufesenque), Biracillus (Domitianic-Trajanic, at Banassac in the same neighborhood), Satto (Domitianic-Hadrianic, in the Upper Moselle district), Libertus and Butrio (both Trajanic, at Lezoux). All these potters manufactured bowls of Form 37, which is the form of our sherds. "Towards the middle of the second century this style degenerated into a haphazard medley of figure-subjects, and the rocks, which formed so prominent a feature in the earlier examples, have at this date become conventionalized into oval or lozenge-shaped objects." In illustration the authors cite their own pl. xii, 1 (*Paternus*)⁵ and DÉCHELETTE, i, fig. 134,⁶ though perhaps the oval objects shown in their plate and on our Sherd E might better be described as "hatched spindles."⁷

Sherd A (see Plate) commences its decoration at the top with a rough though bold ovolo in quite low relief. This lacks any refinements; perhaps "substantial" best describes it.

¹ DÉCHELETTE, i, p. 197; OSWALD, *Stamps*, p. 77.

² Reproduced from *Sitzungsber. d. Altertumsgesell. Preuss.* xxi (1900), p. 73.

³ DÉCHELETTE, pp. 182, 187, 200 f. and 213.

⁴ On this style, cf. OSWALD AND PRYCE, especially pp. 136-138, from which much of the ensuing is taken.

⁵ WALTERS, *Cat. Rom. Pottery in the Brit. Mus.*, pl. xxxi, reproduces this vase full-page in color.

⁶ This latter shows the lozenge treatment; DÉCHELETTE illustrates the ovals in vol. ii, p. 157, figs. 1109-1110, remarking in vol. i, p. 227 (with note 1) that they are

"extrêmement fréquentes sur les vases de la troisième période de Lezoux (scènes de chasse). Pour cette raison, nous n'avons pas indiqué dans notre catalogue les noms des potiers qui en ont fait usage, cette énumération risquant d'être trop incomplète."

⁷ The occurrence on Arretine ware of spindles similar to these (e. g. CHASE, *Cat. of Arretine Pottery in the Bost. Mus.*, "Author's Note" and pls. xxvii, 193 (*Antiochus*) and xxviii, 122, 124) suggests a more classic derivation of the Gaulish varieties than that cited above.

The tongue adheres to the side of the U-element, a characteristic traceable to genuine Arretine technique, but in its present form, due to either wear or crude original manufacture, it more resembles an adhering pillar than a pendant. It is worth noting that when the tongue is so placed it is *usually* arranged beside the right rather than the left side of the U-element.¹ To that extent our sherd is exceptional. There is no trace of any rosette at the terminal. A varying space, sometimes as much as 3 mm., separates the pendants from the next ovolo to the left, and the band as a whole seems to have been spread with a slight vertical as well as horizontal unevenness. Below it no well-marked wavy line or bead-row appears, but at best only a crude ridge which is partially stamped over by the ovolo-and-tongue motive itself.² Perhaps this ridge was drawn into the mould first,



Figs. 11, 8, 9, 10, 12, showing approximate arrangement on Sherd A.

to serve as a guide-line for the ovolo stamp or roulette by the application of which it was partially blocked out. Directly below this is the decorated field. As preserved, the sherd probably gives a more homogeneous appearance than when it was whole, for the central figure is now a lion (Fig. 8) attacked by three animals. The lowest one of these is a small dog (Fig. 9), and the shapes of the other two (Figs. 10, 11) and their size in comparison with that of the lion, — for what that is worth, — imply that they are felines of some sort. In the upper right corner is another dog running to the right (Fig. 12), and the small dog mentioned reappears also in the lower left corner springing away from the central figure. But the entire scene was not reproduced immediately to the left of the present sherd, since the knob at the extreme left is not a repetition of the lion's paw.³ None of the animals are to be identified with any of those supplied by DÉCHELETTE,⁴ although some

¹ OSWALD AND PRYCE, pl. xxx. But Mr. Glanville Downey has drawn my attention to an arrangement like ours on the lamps shown by BRONEER in *Corinth*, iv, 2, p. 67, fig. 29, nos. 54, 55 and to some extent no. 56.

² In the photograph this ridge appears slightly more marked than on the sherd itself.

³ This knob does not show clearly in the photograph.

⁴ ii, pp. 116-125, 138-140.

of them present similarities. Bounding the decorated area at the bottom are four low ridges. These were a part of the mould and were drawn before the figures were impressed, perhaps in the same operation as the ovolo line mentioned. This is made plain by the impinging of the hind legs of the small dogs upon the upper two of these ridges. Within these rings the vase is preserved for a distance of 1.90 cm. toward the foot, nothing of which remains except for a very slight commencement of the concavity which indicates its nearby juncture with the body of the vase.

For a comparison with Sherd A we may turn to a bowl by Paternus.¹ Both it and our sherd show several pronounced differences from the specimen of his work already cited,² specifically: (1) Any suggestion of rocks, spindle-shaped or otherwise, is entirely lacking in our example and that from Reichenhall. (2) Boars, bears, horses and riders are absent. (3) In these examples the potter did not feel the *horror vacui* which in the other case Paternus met by his spindle-rocks and close-crowded figures. (4) In these cases none of the animals shows the turning and foreshortening of the head as in the other case. Furthermore, with respect to the ovolo, our sherd shows differences from any by Paternus that I have found reproduced, especially in that the tongue of our ovolo adheres to the left side of the U-element while elsewhere it adheres to the right, and that Paternus used a bead-row to mark off the ovolo from the decorated area in OSWALD AND PRYCE's figure and DÉCHELETTE, i, fig. 120, and a striated band for the same purpose in DÉCHELETTE, i, fig. 121, and that the tongue shows either a rosette or a swelling at the terminal in the signed vases of Paternus, while ours shows no such element.

In the free style of Paternus and of our sherd we may note the lack of birds, vegetation, fish or human figures such as appear on the bowls of Comitialis, Cibisus, Tordilo and those in the style of Alpinus,³ East Gaulish potters working in and after the Antonine period.

Now Paternus worked at Lezoux,⁴ producing decorated ware including Form 37, principally in the Antonine period; his vases found their widest distribution in Gaul and Britain. He is to be distinguished from Paternus ii, a namesake manufacturing plain vases at Rheinzabern. Some of his pottery "lacks the lustre of the earlier Sigillata, not uncommonly presenting a dull red surface.... Frequently, indeed, it is badly worn and has flaked off. These changes are too universal to be accounted for by varying provenance," and are taken with "diminished artistic needs" and "an increasing disability to supply those needs" as being "a graphic illustration of the gradual barbarization of the Empire." Technologically it should be noted that on both the interior and exterior this sherd shows

¹ Shown by DÉCHELETTE, i, fig. 121, reproduced from CHLINGENSPERG, *Die römischen Brandgräber bei Reichenhall in Oberbayern*, pl. xx, 4.

² OSWALD AND PRYCE, pl. xii, 1.

³ Cf. OSWALD AND PRYCE, pls. xiii, 4, 5; xviii, 4, 5, 6, respectively.

⁴ This sketch of Paternus is collected from references in OSWALD AND PRYCE, p. 284, s. v. *Paternus*.

the wearing and flaking of the surface as described. The surface is rough and pitted, perhaps a bit more strikingly in the vacant areas than on the reliefs. The dies were not good work either artistically or technologically. Finally, the die with which the upper left figure was made was not cleanly impressed, since the tail and hind quarters seem to show a double impression.

One hesitates to attribute our sherd to Paternus or any other specific potter on stylistic grounds alone, especially since his contemporaries were all turning out much the same type of decorated ware, but at least the similarities are strong enough to create a fair *presumption* that Sherd A was from his shop, and this presumption is strengthened as we observe with DÉCHELETTE¹ that next to Cinnamus he was the most productive of all the Lezoux potters and that his bowls have already been found at Reichenhall near Salzburg, a direction in which Lezoux ware was rarely distributed. If Paternus is the real potter of Sherd A, we can extend the radius of his distribution considerably down the Danube Valley, and even if he was not, we may in any case attribute this sherd to a contemporary Central Gaulish potter, which does not diminish its interest as historical documentation.

Sherd E (see Plate), the remaining one of the collection from Hungary, is distinguishable from the preceding by several noteworthy characteristics. First, its glaze is far better. The difference is not entirely attributable to the accidents of preservation: the quality is decidedly superior. This does not exclude the possibility of a late date of manufacture; ² it merely betokens better workmanship. The same is shown by the surface, which is not pitted and rough as in the case of Sherd A. The figures are to be sure not delicately moulded, but they seem rather more successful attempts than the animals just discussed. The only way in which the present artist was not the superior of the craftsman of Sherd A is in composition: here there is not even as much continuity as in the former case. But since coherence of subject was no desideratum in the free style of the second century, perhaps our potter is not blameworthy when judged by the standards of his time. He uses the hatched spindle-rocks mentioned above as a characteristic of Paternus, and in addition there are at least one and perhaps two grass-tufts at the top and lower left corners of the sherd.

Specifically, the ornamental details of this sherd are: (1) At the top, a fragmentary grass-tuft. (2) To its right, a small knob which was probably attached to the same animal as was the pair of springing fore-legs below it and to the right, belonging to an otherwise unpreserved animal. (3) Below these is a basket of fruit with two dolphins as handles (Fig. 13), ³ but it is not used as such in the design, being laid almost on its side. This basket appears elsewhere used as a support for the Caryatid which occurs on our Sherd

¹ i, p. 199.

² OSWALD AND PRYCE, p. 19: "A fine glaze not infrequently persisted into the Antonine period"; cf. CURLE,

A Roman Frontier Post, p. 203.

³ Cf. DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 153, fig. 1069 a, used by Cinnamus and Doecus.



Figs. 13 and 14, showing approximate arrangement on Sherd E.

F.¹ (4) To the left of this are the legs and part of the torso of a male figure which is naked except for some drapery floating behind the legs (Fig. 14). This is identifiable with DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 68, fig. 400 or 400 bis, a "*satyre ou homme nu, debout. Son geste et son attitude expriment l'étonnement.*" In DÉCHELETTE's figures his left hand is foreshortened and raised vertically, entirely concealing his lower arm, from which hangs the drapery. In our specimen the connection between drapery and arm is entirely lacking, but it is to be supplied mentally.² (5) To the left of this figure's right leg is the tip of a hatched spindle like those mentioned above. (6) Below the male figure and to the right under the handle of the basket is another male figure, smaller than the first, completely nude, springing to the right but looking to the left (Fig. 15). He is very similar to DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 68,



Fig. 15. — Detail of Sherd E.

figs. 402³ and 403,⁴ but is not identical with either of them. In the former, as in ours, there is little or no detail of moulding, especially about the head, and the size is the same as ours, 2.80 cm. from top of head to tip of right foot. But ours resembles the latter more in pose (except for the fin-like hand), for the left leg is raised higher than in fig. 402. Our figure stands midway between DÉCHELETTE's two, but seems identical with *Rottweil*, pl. xx, 17, a free-style vase signed CINTVSMVS [F, found at Deutsch-Altenburg (*Carnuntum*).⁵ Cintusmus seems to have been active in the reign of Hadrian and perhaps later at Saint-Bonnet (Allier),⁶ where in addition to the occurrence of this springing figure in both places there are other evidences of influence from Lezoux. (6 a) Under the foot of this

¹ DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 109, fig. 655 b.

² Fig. 400 was used by Butrio and Libertus in the second period of Lezoux, and by Doeccus in the third; fig. 400 bis is not definitely attributable.

³ Used by Doeccus.

⁴ Used by Cinnaeus, Jullinus and Libertus.

⁵ *Rottweil*, p. 45; p. 37 and pl. xvi, 15, likewise from Deutsch-Altenburg, shows the same name.

⁶ DÉCHELETTE, i, pp. 207 f., citing MELIN AND BERTRAND, in *Bull. de la Soc. d'Emulation du Bourbonnais*, viii (1900), pp. 91-95, and BERTRAND, *Fouilles dans les officines de Saint-Bonnet* (1901).

figure and related to it in the composition is another hatched spindle (Fig. 15). This use of the spindle furnishes an example in extension of DÉCHELETTE's general principle that such designs were used to represent rocks "*sous les pieds des animaux sauvages.*"¹ (7) To the right of the figure are the curling tail and the hind leg of a walking (not running) animal, perhaps a lion. No similar figure is given by DÉCHELETTE. (8) Some distance below this animal is part of another hatched spindle. (9) In the lower left area of the sherd is a rather crude deer galloping to the right, comparable in its haste to the similarly posed animals of Sherd A (Fig. 16). I originally made the natural mistake of taking this for a rabbit with ears erect, but the true identification is found in DÉCHELETTE.² (10) At the extreme left of the sherd is a knob that may represent an animal's forepaws; if so,



Fig. 16. — Detail of Sherd E.

he was probably a dog chasing the deer. (11) Below these paws but quite unrelated to them is a grass-tuft. (12) Bounding the whole decorated area at the bottom is a ridge in relief. It is strongly moulded, in contrast to the slovenly work shown in the ridges of Sherd A.

One thing is especially evident from the *ensemble* of the decoration: no two figures have any compositional relation to each other except Nos. 6 and 6*a*, and 9 and the problematical 10 of our list in the preceding paragraph. Otherwise the various elements were to all appearances tossed together in an incoherent *mêlée*. A glance at OSWALD AND PRYCE's figures illustrating Butrio and Libertus³ will show that in these examples the degeneration had not proceeded as far as in the case of our sherd. *Inter alia*, composition is much better at times, vegetation is rendered, the spindle-rocks had not yet appeared. These potters worked at Lezoux in its second period, about the beginning of the second century. On the other hand, Paternus showed somewhat more degeneration than does our potter. We may assert with every feeling of security that this sherd belongs between these two manifestations of free style, and that its period is Hadrianic or early Antonine. An attribution to one individual potter is more difficult and perhaps less essential. The other appearances of the decorative figures suggest as the potter either Doeccus, who is attested for the basket, the standing nude male figure, and for the *type* of the springing nude male figure, or Cinnamus, who is attested for the basket and the *type* of the springing nude male figure, or Cintusmus, who is attested for the springing

¹ ii, p. 157.

² ii, fig. 860, used by Albucius, Butrio, C. V. (?), Putriu, and frequently by Paternus, second and third

period Lezoux potters.

³ Pls. viii, 5; xii, 2; xxi, 4-7, 14; xxvi, 14.

male figure. No one of these is attested for the running deer, which was however sufficiently common in the work of their contemporaries for easy plagiarism, and the walking animal does not appear in DÉCHELETTE's *corpus* at all. Both Doeccus and Cinnamus were potters of Lezoux III, and Cintusmus of Saint-Bonnet was about contemporary. The Danubian distribution of Cinnamus has been discussed in connection with our Sherd F, of which he may also have been the maker; Doeccus is represented chiefly in Aquitania and Britain,¹ and as we have said, two signatures of Cintusmus have appeared at Deutsch-Altenburg (*Carnuntum*). With this presentation of evidence we must rest the case.

The remaining three sherds are not definitely assignable to Pannonia, though our further discussion will show that we should not have been surprised if they also had been so designated by the finder, since pottery similar to some of them has actually been found there. Sherds B and D are related to each other in technical and stylistic ways, and Sherd G is, as already observed, different from all the others.

Sherd D (see Plate)² is especially characterized by a neatness and cleanness absent in the others. Reference has already been made to its comparative thinness and fineness of texture. The characteristic features of this potter were the use of a double bead-row and an eight-leaved rosette. The former was made by dividing a straight band in half longitudinally and striating it crosswise, so that strictly we no longer have dots but a series of small paired squares.³ This double row clearly appears in the vertical panel-division of our sherd, and it was unquestionably used beneath the ovolo also, although here its characteristics are not so plain. I think, too, that the lower rosette did not terminate the vertical row, but that the row continued lower, as the photograph shows a little more plainly than does the sherd itself. It is with these two characteristics that we must commence an attempt at attribution for this sherd.

Knorr supplies references for both.⁴ He says: "*Der gestrichelte Stab.... findet sich häufig auf Gefässen im Stil von Heiligenberg und auf verwandten Erzeugnissen,*" and "*Die achtblättrige Rosette.... findet sich ebenso bei Cibisus.*" To both citations are added references to plates in the same publication, and these figures revolve around the names of Cibisus, Janus and, as regards some of the ovolos, of Verecundus. Cibisus "may have worked in Heiligenberg, yet the area of distribution of his ware speaks rather for a somewhat more southerly location of his shop, and specifically for Offemont."⁵ He is datable in the first half of the second century. Janus, his contemporary, worked in Heiligenberg, but

¹ Also in Gallia Lugdunensis and Narbonensis, Belgium and Germany; cf. DÉCHELETTE, i, p. 198.

² The photograph is slightly larger than natural size. This enlargement and the clearness of the picture have disposed of the necessity for supplementary line-drawings.

³ KNORR's term for this formation is *gestrichelter Stab*, e. g. in *Rottweil*, p. 43, and elsewhere.

⁴ *Rottweil*, pp. 43 f., à propos pl. xix, 4, 6, q. v.

⁵ "Offemont lies in the neighborhood of the intersection of six roads in the depression which is known as an ancient folk-route, between the southern foothills of the Vosges and the northern slopes of the Jura." Both the citations and information in the text and the preceding part of this note are taken from *Rottweil*, pp. 8 f. and 15 f.

"in his later period he worked in Rheinzabern, and belongs to the earliest potters there." We may omit Verecundus from consideration here in view of his characteristic ovolo, which is not ours, although the usual ovolo of Cibusus is still further removed from our specimen. Contemporary with these three and using some of the same decoration through active or passive imitation were "the potter of the small medallions," Reginus (already mentioned as working at Rheinzabern), Ciriuna, Lutaeus, Mammilianus, Novanus and doubtless others. All these worked at Heiligenberg or imitated the work done there.

But when we turn from the bead-rows and rosettes to the rest of the decoration, we find that the ovolo is close to those by the same Reginus, figured in *Rottweil*, pl. xxvii, 9, 10.¹ Similarly the leaves and triple club-like ornaments are found on his work or work like it,² but do not appear on any specimens that I have found illustrating Cibusus or Janus. We thus have one category of decoration on Sherd D typical of Cibusus and Janus but as far as my available evidence goes not typical of Reginus, and another category typical of Reginus but, with the same reservation, not typical of the two others. A precise personal attribution would be of interest, but cannot be established. It is sufficient to say that (1) our sherd is of the Heiligenberg-Offemont-Rheinzabern school of the first half of the second century, and that (2) while the provenance of our sherd is unknown, (3) products of the same school have been found in Pannonia Superior.³

Having established this much with regard to Sherd D, we proceed to *Sherd B* (see Plate),⁴ which resembles it in being thinner than the other five of our collection and in having a partially preserved specimen of the same triple club-like motive. This motive has already been mentioned as typical of Reginus.⁵ Here however the Reginus ovolo of Sherd D has been replaced by another similar to it except for the addition of a tongue adhering slightly diagonally to the left side of the U-element, terminated by a crude bulb which it is difficult to call a rosette, though such may have been the potter's conception of it. Unlike some of the ovolos of Reginus, this ovolo has no ruled line or any other demarcating motive separating it from the decorated field.⁶ It is best illustrated by *Rottweil*, pl. xix, 11, unfortunately a highly fragmentary unsigned sherd. A striking point of similarity lies in the proportions of the U-element, which in our sherd is 1 cm. broad and .70 cm. high; that is, its width is greater than its height. A disproportion like this is not unparalleled, but it is unusual,⁷ and KNORR's *Rottweil* sherd shows it. The chief difference lies in the somewhat better execution of the rosette in KNORR's figure, which

¹ In spite of the signatures on these, *Lutaeus* and *Airtus*, they are attributable to Reginus; cf. next pages.

² *Cannstatt*, pls. xxxiv, 1, 2; xxxvi, 2; *Rottweil*, pl. xxvii, 14; etc.

³ e. g. *Rottweil*, pl. xxvii, 5, 7, 8, etc., all by Reginus, from O-Szőny (*Brigetio*) and Deutsch-Altenburg (*Caruntum*). See also OSWALD, *Stamps*, under the appro-

priate rubrics.

⁴ The photograph is natural size.

⁵ A close approximation to our example is shown in *Cannstatt*, pl. xxxiv, 1, 2 (*Reginus*).

⁶ Reginus sometimes omitted this element, e. g. *Rottweil*, pl. xxvii, 8.

⁷ Cf. OSWALD AND PRYCE, pl. xxx.

is described as a "fragment in the style of Heiligenberg."¹ It bears close resemblances to *Rottweil*, pl. xxv, 1, by the Ciriuna who has been mentioned already as a Heiligenberg potter of the same circle as Cibusus, Reginus and the rest, and who probably worked at Rheinzabern in his later days.²

With this discussion our evidence ceases, for the remaining decoration does not suggest to me a parallel with any one of the figures I have seen in DÉCHELETTE, *Cannstatt*, *Rottweil* or OSWALD AND PRYCE.³ Nor have either Mr. Van Liew or I been able to hazard any guess as to what was represented. It does not easily fit in with any animal figures, whether quadruped, human or winged, nor any vegetable or foliate motives, nor any of the quasi-architectural space dividers and fillers, nor any of the frequent reminiscences of Hellenistic sculpture. The photograph does it far more than justice, and one must beware of seeing in it anything resembling a goat's head lowered to the left. My best conjecture for this sherd lies in recalling the names of Reginus and Ciriuna together with their period and location.

Sherd G (see Plate). In execution *Sherd G* is artistically crude and its glaze, especially on the exterior, catches highlights in a way in which the other glazes in our group do not, but which is characteristic of Gaulish as opposed to Italian *sigillata*. The decorated area is bounded below by a ridge similar to that noted on *Sherd E* but considerably finer. It is a continuous straight line, not a series of beads. Bead-rows (Figs. 17, 18) are however used vertically and horizontally to separate the panels which contain the decorative elements. Crude rosettes are placed at the intersections of these bead-rows with the base-line and presumably with other bead-rows, though none of the latter intersections are preserved. Here we may recall OSWALD AND PRYCE's discussion of panel (metope) decoration already mentioned *à propos* of *Sherd F*, and add: "It may be noted that the substitution of bead-rows for wavy lines is, in the main, characteristic of the second century."⁴



Fig. 17. — Detail of *Sherd G*.

One metope of our sherd is fairly completely preserved. Its decoration is a rabbit in what may be called "slow motion," (Fig. 17), unlike the sitting postures shown by OSWALD

¹ P. 43.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

³ It should be stated, however, that these are the only comprehensive treatments of provincial *terra sigil-*

lata to which I have had access; a wider scope of reference might well provide an identification of this and other figures appearing on our sherd.

⁴ OSWALD AND PRYCE, p. 92 and pls. vii, 3; viii, 7; x, 7.

AND PRYCE.¹ The hind legs are in no sense doubled under the body. Below the rabbit though not in close composition with it are three rosettes. The panel to the left of this is highly fragmentary and may have been exceptionally narrow. In any case, a rosette occurs at the extreme edge of the sherd on the base-line, and this may perhaps postulate the intersection of another vertical dividing row. In this panel a horizontal ridge (perhaps bead-row) meets the vertical bead-row separating the rabbit-metope from its neighbor, but no rosette is placed at the intersection. Perhaps this ridge was not a bead-row but part of a decorative scheme, but this left-hand panel is too fragmentary for certainty. Above the rabbit-panel is another of which the dimensions and decoration are also uncertain, except that it contained a medallion or demi-medallion. To the right of the rabbit-panel is a fourth, likewise of uncertain extent and decoration, except that the absence of any rosette on the base-line as preserved seems to imply that this panel intercepted nearly 5 cm. on the base-line, and of course the distance between the sides of the panel increased as the bowl spread outwards. It was thus a fair-sized panel, and this makes it the more surprising to find decorations crammed into its preserved lower left corner. I am not sure what these decorations were. To the left is a pillar-like figure (as preserved) with a toothed left edge, perpendicular to a cylindrical base or plinth, bordered on its left with dots, all set somewhat obliquely in the field (Fig. 18). The small cylinder is figured by



Fig. 18. — Detail of Sherd G.

DÉCHELETTE with the comment that it cuts off the extremities of the demi-medallions that frequently enclose figures.² Our sherd shows an example of another use, and it is still further found free in the field.³ A large ring to the left, encroaching on the row of dots, seems a part of the same group.

To the right of all this is another partially preserved figure, — perhaps the lower part of a heavily draped statuesque female set even more obliquely than the other (Fig. 19). A possible parallel or even original model for this is found in the work of Libertus, of Lezoux I,⁴ but complete identification of any of these elements is impossible without more complete preservation.⁵

¹ Pl. xxxvi, 34-40.

² ii, p. 157, fig. 1111.

³ Rottweil, pl. xx, 12 (probably *Cinnamus*), 17 (*Cinnamus*, who has already been mentioned as a possible potter of Sherd E) and especially *Cannstatt*, pl. xvi, 1, where it is found free and in composition with bead-rows, etc. on a specimen of Lezoux-style work. *Cibisus*

also used a similar but not identical element in his dividing rows (Rottweil, pl. xxiv, 3), and there are other similarities between this figure and our sherd.

⁴ DÉCHELETTE, ii, p. 90, fig. 547.

⁵ That is, I have found nothing suggestive in DÉCHELETTE, *Cannstatt*, Rottweil or OSWALD AND PRYCE.



Fig. 19. — Detail of Sherd G.

Chronologically this sherd belongs approximately with the four from Pannonia. Antonine panel decoration (on Form 37) was "almost invariably associated with figure-subjects enclosed in *large medallions*" at Lezoux, but is rarely met with among East Gaulish work.¹ Our sherd probably antedates these specifications. On the other hand the absence of a wavy line for demarcation purposes makes it probable that our potter worked later than the Trajanic potters of Bregenz.² Let us provisionally call this sherd Hadrianic, finding support for this attribution in the similarity between it and OSWALD AND PRYCE's pl. viii, 6, which chronologically just precedes Cobnertus and Divixtus. Granting that this series is all of Form 30,³ the same criteria are probably roughly applicable to Form 37 also.

As to the place where this pot was made, I have already referred to the appearance at Lezoux of the small cylinder here used as a plinth, as well as to its use by some East Gaulish potters already discussed. The draped female (?) is likewise found at Lezoux. The toothed pillar, on the other hand, seems related to the Heiligenberg-Offemont-Rheinzabern school of potters,⁴ and my own conjecture, made with all reservations and without attempting any personal attribution, is that we have here a specimen of their work which included elements imitated from Lezoux.

¹ OSWALD AND PRYCE, p. 103.

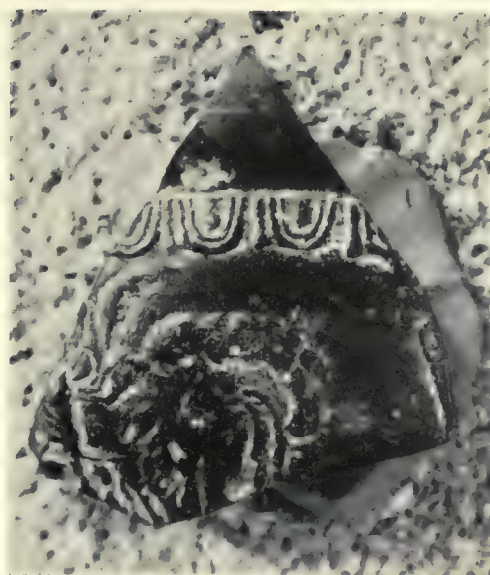
² JACOBS, in *Jahrb. für Altertumskunde*, vi, 1912, pls. i-v, or OSWALD AND PRYCE, pl. xvi.

³ OSWALD AND PRYCE, p. 92.

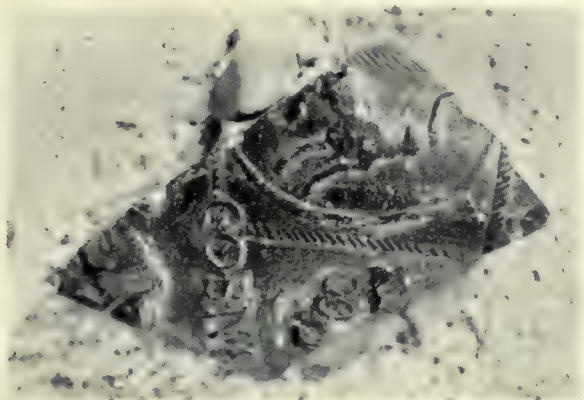
⁴ *Cannstatt*, pl. xxix, 13 (unsigned, from Rheinzabern) and pl. xxxv, 8 (*Reginus*).



Sherd A.



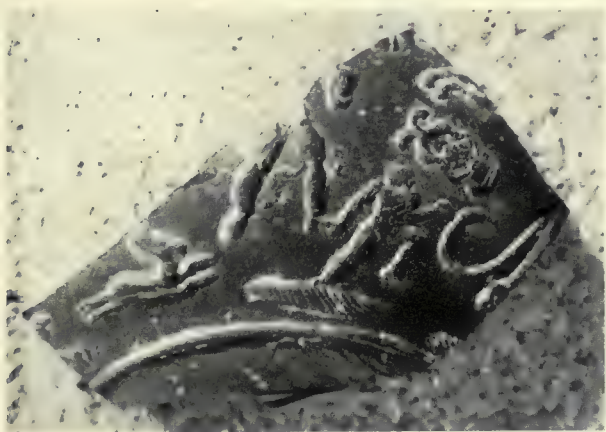
Sherd B.



Sherd C.



Sherd D.



Sherd E.



Sherd G.



Sherd F.

TERRA SIGILLATA
IN THE PRINCETON COLLECTION.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE JANICULUM.

A. W. VAN BUREN
IN COLLABORATION WITH
G. P. STEVENS.

(PLATES 2 AND 3).

DISCOVERIES of recent years in connection with remains of ancient Roman aqueducts and other structures existing on the property of the American Academy in Rome on the Janiculum have formed the subject of articles by ourselves in these *Memoirs*, i, 1917, pp. 59-61 and pl. 15, and vi, 1927, pp. 137-146 and pl. 52; and in *Bull. Com.*, lv, 1928, pp. 245-251 with plate. Further material bearing on this general question can now be presented, owing to more recent building operations in the area to the southeast of the corner of Via Giacomo Medici and Viale Trenta Aprile: first, about the year 1926, at the time of excavation for the foundations of the *villino* of Signor A. Monami, and then, in the year 1928, in excavating for the *villino* of Signor H. Monami. See plan, Fig. 1.

The excavations for the latter *villino* possess the greater interest for us, since they revealed remains of the *Aqua Traiana* and, perhaps, certain of its mills which, it will be remembered, formed a feature of this region. These excavations occurred during the summer months of 1928, and our notes and photographs of the aqueduct and kindred structures were taken in September of that year, when all remains of antiquity within the area had been destroyed except for the sluice stone, Pl. 3, Figs. 1 and 2, which was then lying, not *in situ*, near the southern corner of the excavated area; hence the interpretation of the various remains which we found still visible at the edges of the excavation contains a somewhat more considerable element of conjecture than would have been the case in a purely scientific undertaking. We are none the less grateful to the above-mentioned proprietors of the two estates for courteously permitting us to study and photograph their antiquities and for furnishing us additional information and placing at our disposal their own plans of their property: this generous action has proved of real service in the preparation of the present article.

Most of the recently-found remains can be interpreted in the light of previous knowledge as to the aqueduct and mills, which was presented in our first article.

Before, however, we proceed to describe these new developments, the records of earlier

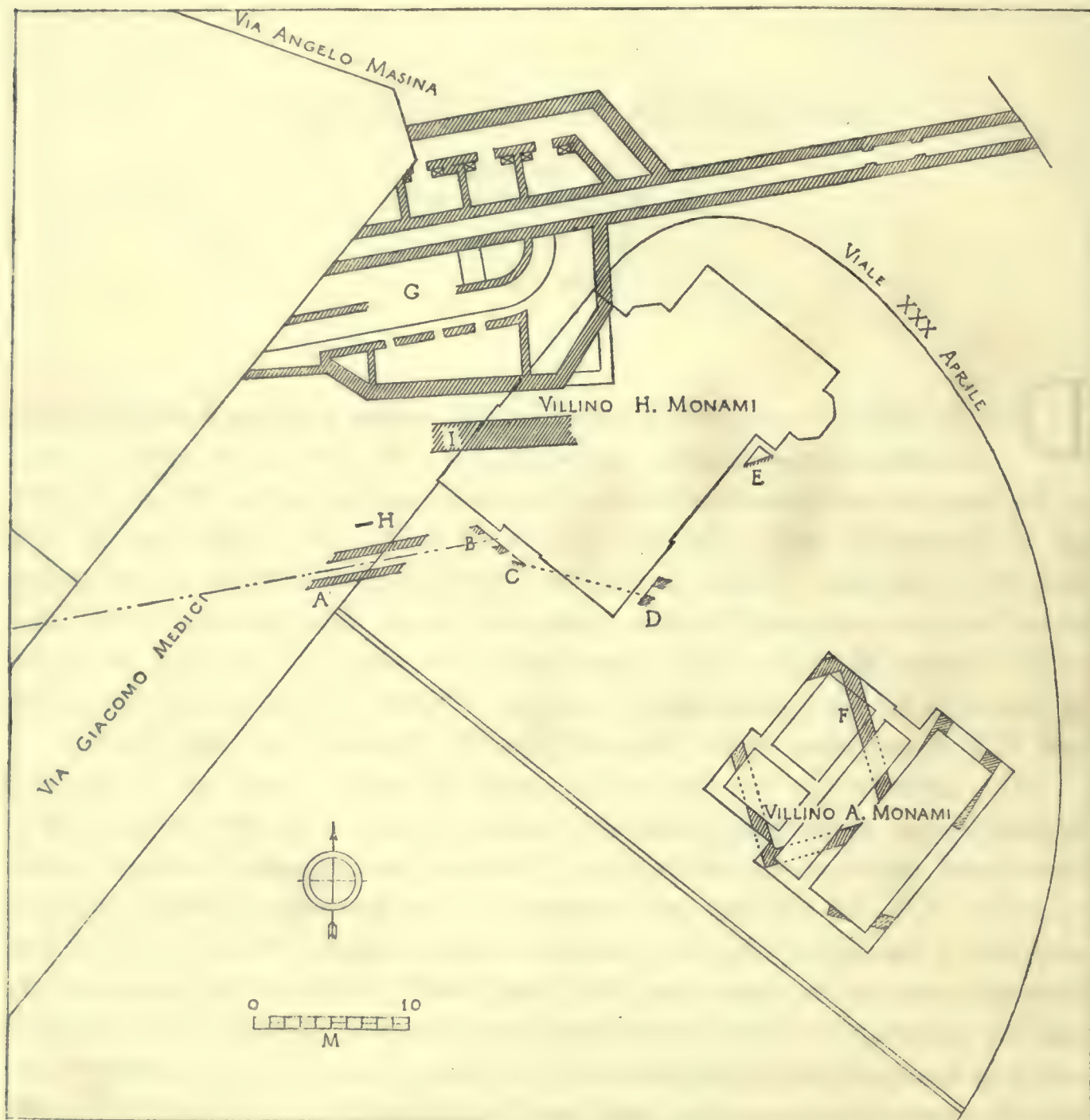


Fig. 1. — Ancient Remains on the Janiculum.

discoveries in this region require fresh consideration. In the first place, in SENATOR LANCIANI'S drawing as reproduced by us as Fig. 1 on p. 60 of *Memoirs*, i, 1917, there is an inconsistency with actual conditions, namely : the prolongation of the lot line of Via Angelo Masina in reality does not come behind the lot line of the start of Viale Trenta Aprile. It is clear that Lanciani's drawing, as well as his *Forma Urbis Romae*, was executed before the present streets were definitively laid out ; also, that it proved necessary to modify the projected street plan at a later stage, when the streets were being actually made.

Moreover, in the *Forma Urbis Romae*, the aqueduct there indicated as Trajan's was probably a branch, although Lanciani's remains at point I in our new plan may represent the true aqueduct. Via Giacomo Medici, Via Angelo Masina, and Viale Trenta Aprile are indicated in blue in the *Forma Urbis Romae*, that is to say as projected and not yet executed ; when the streets were eventually laid out, as suggested above, they probably did not exactly agree with the indications of the blue lines.

Again, the *Forma Urbis Romae* is faultily drawn : Lanciani's record of the remains which he saw is rendered on far too large a scale.

In our present plan, Fig. 1, in reproducing our former figure (*Mem.*, i, 1917, page 60, Fig. 1), we have maintained the relation between the lot line of Via Angelo Masina and Lanciani's record of his finds : good circulation requires that the lot line of Signor H. Monami's *villino* should not project beyond the lot line of the Via Angelo Masina. In this plan, therefore, we have given what we believe to be the most probable interpretation of Lanciani's drawing.

The concrete remains of the *Aqua Traiana* were observed by us, emerging from the surface of the ground, at point A, in the year 1916. In January, 1927, at point H, in connection with some digging for city piping, there was found a stretch of ancient lead pipe, about m. 0.10 in diameter, about a meter and a half below the level of the sidewalk.

As for the recent discoveries :

At points B and C there are two channels, slightly diverging ; that at B clearly was an intermediary stretch between the aqueduct at A and the channel at point E, and all three of these we consider to represent the main line of the *Aqua Traiana* ; the channel at C, however, is headed in the direction of the channel at point D, and must have formed with it a branch aqueduct which tapped the *Traiana* just before this reached point B.

In spite of the ruinous state in which we found these remains, it is possible to furnish the following details concerning them.

The channel at B has the following characteristics : a lining of *opus signinum*, m. 0.145 thick at the bottom of the channel and m. 0.05 thick at the side ; outside this, a filling of dark brown tufa *caementa* laid in dark red mortar, about half a meter thick on the side and at least one meter deep at the bottom of the channel ; only the western part of the channel is preserved at the point visible.

The channel at point C has a lining of *opus signinum*, and below it a filling for a depth of m. 0.30. In the channel was found a broken stone similar to the sluice stone which we describe below.

These remains are shown on Pl. 2, Figs. 1 and 2.

The channel at point D (Pl. 2, Fig. 3) is m. 0.73 wide, and has its *specus* lined with *opus signinum* m. 0.05 thick consisting of fragments of terra-cotta mixed with pozzolana mortar of a white color; behind this, on the sides, are reticulate blocks of brown tufa laid in pozzolana mortar of a brown color; there are four courses of bricks or tiles at the foot of the reticulate; behind this facing there is a filling of fragments of brown tufa laid in similar mortar. The extreme width of the cutting, including the filling, is about 2 m. The channel is preserved to a height of about m. 1.20 above the bottom of the filling, and is broken off well below the spring of the vaulting, if there ever was any.

The channel at point E (Pl. 2, Fig. 4) is preserved in only its southern portion; it has a lining of *opus signinum*, about m. 0.15 thick, consisting of terra-cotta fragments laid in a light-colored mortar with black specks. At the corner of the bottom and side of the channel, there is a transition in *opus signinum* forming two angles of 45°, and behind this there is one block of reticulate preserved; behind this again, and also beneath the *opus signinum* of the bottom of the channel, is a rubble filling consisting of dark brown tufa *caementa* laid in dark red mortar. The filling of the side was about one meter thick, and that on the bottom at least m. 0.84 deep.

At a point somewhat to the south of E, there was visible on the edge of the excavation a certain amount of brickwork consisting of red bricks or tiles about m. 0.041 thick and yellow bricks or tiles about m. 0.027 thick, laid in a mortar which was of a lighter color than that of the aqueduct at point E.

As already stated, in the angle between points C and D we found lying, not *in situ*, the stone which is shown in Pl. 3, Figs. 1 and 2, drawing and photograph. It clearly is a sluice stone similar to, or identical with, the first of the two recorded by Lanciani and published by us, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 15, Fig. 3¹. A fragment of a similar stone has been already mentioned above.

Here a further suggestion may be permissible with regard to the peculiarly shaped stones represented, after Lanciani's drawing, *loc. cit.*, Pl. 15, Fig. 4. These were interpreted as the remains of a sluice, and in case they were actually *in situ* when drawn by Lanciani this interpretation seems unavoidable. If however they were not in their original position, it is tempting to propose that they were intended to be placed not horizontally but vertically, and that they provided spaces in which were to be set two axles for wheels: a hint of some mechanism connected with the mills.

¹ This stone comes from the north side of the aqueduct, as is shown by the slope (l in 12). There are traces of

ancient hydraulic cement adhering to the stone near its left-hand edge, as indicated in the drawing.

The kindness of Signor A. Monami, the proprietor of the *villino* at F, has enabled us to introduce on our plan the remains which were found about the year 1926 in connection with digging for the foundations of that building. Some of these we cannot interpret definitely, but others obviously formed part of the foundations of a rectangular edifice. The portion which extends into the corner of the *cantina* in the sub-basement of the *villino*, and which we were thus able to examine ourselves, has the following characteristics in its successive strata, starting from the floor of the *cantina*:

1. To a height of m. 2, artificial filling, consisting of fragments of tufa and earth, with a few bits of limestone, and some admixture of mortar, which had been laid against a scaffolding of vertical poles and horizontal boards, the poles being on the side toward the concrete; clear impressions of the poles, and less distinct ones of the planks, remain. The pole impressions extend from m. 0.09 to m. 0.11 inwards from the present face of the concrete; the one to the north has a width of m. 0.15, and the two others a width of m. 0.12. The stretches of wall between the three are respectively m. 0.90 and m. 0.65 in length; those at the extremities, as far as the modern foundations, m. 0.35 and m. 0.65 (proceeding from north to south in each case).
2. For a further height of m. 0.60, filling of brown tufa fragments laid in dark mortar.
3. For m. 0.20 more, four courses of bricks.
4. For m. 0.17 more, small stones in mortar.

The courtesy of Signor A. Monami also enables us to publish two inscriptions which were found about the year 1926 in digging for the foundations of his *villino*. Although it is our belief that they had been brought here at some undetermined time from a sepulchral area, and hence have slight topographical value, they are not devoid of interest in respect of their contents. They are shown in the photographs, Pl. 3, Figs. 3 and 4, which were made from the stones as they are now exhibited in Signor A. Monami's garden.

1.

Two connecting pieces of white marble, total preserved dimensions: length m. 0.88; height m. 0.36; thickness m. 0.18. Letters in first line, m. 0.04 high; in second line, m. 0.03; in third to fifth lines, m. 0.025.

The lower right corner is preserved, showing a cymatium moulding. The upper margin has been hacked away, perhaps to adapt the piece for constructional purposes. The initial V's in lines 4 and 5 are cut very shallow, that in line 4 is faintly incised, but they are unquestionable. Monumental letters of the Early Empire.

P · CLODIVS · P · L · DIOPHAN^{es 1}
 GLVTINARIVS · PATRON^{us}
 CLODIA · P · L · MEGISTE
 v P · CLODIVS · FELICIO · LIB
 v P · CLODIVS · BOSSVS · LIB

¹ Considerations of spacing seem to preclude *-tus*.

The names are those of freedmen of a P. Clodius ; the *cognomina* occur elsewhere except the last one, *Bossus*, which is clearly barbarian and appears to be akin to *Bossina*, *Botia*, *Bottius*, *Bottus*, *Boutius* ¹.

This inscription, a simple list of names in the nominative without any formulae except the V, twice cut in the left margin to denote that two of the persons were still living at the time that the stone was carved, conforms to a type which originated toward the close of the first century B. C. in the same social stratum as that here indicated : freedmen and slaves engaged in the arts and crafts. Such lists begin with the name of the *patronus*, sometimes with an indication of his occupation, in which we may assume that the other members of the group were associated ; next may come the name of his wife, who probably had been his *conserva* and *contubernalis* before they both acquired freedom. Then follow the names of the other members of the group, who, as we may infer from the instances in which the *patronus* is stated or implied to have died before the cutting of the inscription, had sometimes been manumitted by him *ex testamento* ; ² in other instances, it is indicated or we may assume that they have received their freedom from his former owner, from other members of the same family, or else from the present *patronus* himself during his lifetime : the latter's headship of the group is based sometimes on slave-ownership, sometimes on the traditional relation of *patronus* to *clientes*, sometimes on his control of a small industrial establishment the personnel of which could be incorporated under those two institutions. These groups are in general quite small ; some of the lists may represent only a portion of the members of larger establishments which may be designated as factories ; others were doubtless more like the modest *botteghe* of artisans which in the Italy of today are still far from extinct.

¹ Cf. *TLL.*, s. v.

² This was the suggestion of Professor Rostovtzeff in conversation, and is highly probable in the case of those inscriptions in which the death of the *patronus* is explicitly mentioned.

Of the 13 lists of names which with some confidence we have included in the category above established, two state or imply that the *patronus* had died : the newly-discovered stone, and *CIL.*, vi, 33920. Of our second class of 12 lists, five indicate this : *CIL.*, vi, 5728 ; 13163 ; 14616 ; *Not. Scav.*, 1916, p. 101, no. 66 ; 1919, p. 308, no. 41. *Not. Scav.*, 1914, pp. 94 f., nos. 1, 2, the *patrona* appears to have constructed the tomb while alive, and to have been predeceased by at least one *libertus*. In *Not. Scav.*, 1925, p. 409, no. 1 rev., only the second person in the group had died ; in *CIL.*, vi, 33919, a *liberta* had died, but the incomplete state in which the inscription has been preserved leaves it uncertain whether the *patronus* himself was still alive. Otherwise, we know of no instance where a freedman is mentioned as predeceasing the *patronus* ; and among the other inscriptions in *CIL.*, vi, which appear susceptible of being grouped with those enumerated in the text, we note the following as stating

or implying the death of the first person or two persons in the list : 10027, 11999, 12246, 12250, 12261 (with systematic use of *theta* for the first two persons and V for the rest), 13663, 14609 (systematic *theta* and V), 16629, 19342, 23964, 24090, 24239 (with two *thetas* also against other names), 24321, 35254, 35255. In 15864, the wife and infant son had died, then probably the husband, but this is not actually stated, and the circumstances of manumission are not clear. Of course, in some instances we may be dealing with a group of equals, who provided their tomb on the occasion of the death of one of their number ; his name naturally would head the list ; but in most of the inscriptions just cited, the *patronus* is definitely indicated. Doubtless manumission *ex testamento* in this stratum of society was frequent, but it may be assumed that manumission during the lifetime of the *patronus* was also a recognised procedure and carried with it the admittance of the *liberti* to a sort of partnership in the establishments, the continuity of which was thus assured.

We have intentionally limited our survey to the Capital.

CIL., VI, 10004, is closely similar : *M. Vergilius M. l. Antiochus unguent[arius], Vergilia M. l. Helena*, followed by two names ; also 33919, starting with a *vascularius* and including twenty names. 33920 differs somewhat in form, but is specific in designating the first person mentioned as *patronus*, and the members of the group as his *liberti* and as *vest[ia]ri de Cermalo minusculo*. In 9391, a plain list of names of five freedmen of the same person, or at least of persons with identical *praenomen* and *nomen*, is followed by the designation *fabri ar[g]e[ntarii]* ; cf. the *ferrari de...* of 9398. In 9846, the *Viciriae* are *purpurar(iae)*. 9843 begins with a *purp(urarius)*; 9870 with a *sa(g)ari[us]*; 9933 with *thurarii*; 9957 with a *vascularius*; 33906 begins with a *sagarius de horreis Galbianis: (v(ivus) f(ecit))*; and 33922 has a *vestiarius* at the beginning and another later.

There is conformity to the type of our inscription, except that the occupation is not mentioned, in 13163: (*theta*) *M. Aurelius M. l. Niceporus patronu(s), Aurelia M. l. Trupher(a)...*; here *theta* is used for the opposite purpose to that of the V V in our inscription ; 13164 is a duplicate, more complete but lacking the *theta*.

That the woman's name which frequently occurs in the second place in such lists is that of the wife of the first person mentioned is what one would have expected, and is rendered probable by such instances as 14616:*eiusde(m) arbitrato factum est* ; and 14058: *uxor*.

We may again suspect, though without positive proof, that similar industrial units¹ are recorded in such inscriptions as 5728, 7444, 7456, 9154, 13923, and *Not. Scav.*, 1914, pp. 94 f., nos. 1 and 2 ; 1916, p. 101, no. 66 ; perhaps *Not. Scav.*, 1919, p. 308, no. 41, and 1925, p. 409, no. 1, reverse ; and many others.

The form in which such inscriptions as ours are couched is more suggestive of a *collegium* than of the usual *familia*. In the circumstances, it is probable that the stone here published was intended for a small *columbarium*.

The status and antecedents of our small group are indicated by their names and by the designation of their leader. The head of the community was originally a slave, *Diophanes*, belonging to a certain P. Clodius ; on acquiring freedom he received the name P. *Clodius* from his former master, and retained his former name as a *cognomen*. A fellow-slave, *Megiste*, similarly received her Roman name ; as suggested above, she was his wife, at the period during which we make their acquaintance. The head of the group in his turn had had two slaves, who when liberated by him received their Roman names from him, keeping as *cognomina* their former names *Felicio* and *Bossus* ; there is every probability that while his slaves they had qualified as assistants in his handicraft of glue-making, and that after acquiring their freedom they continued in the same industry².

¹ In 14058 three outsiders were admitted to the group from the original *familia*.

² Cf. H. BLÜMNER, *Die Röm. Privataltertümer*, Munich, 1911, 601-604. The general setting is given by A. M. DUFF, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1928 ;

see pp. 91, 124 ; the economic background, by GUMMERUS, in PAULY-WISSOWA, ix, 1496-1511 ; and ROSTOVITZEFF'S *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* is indispensable. None of these scholars however emphasises the special features with which we are concerned.

They were still living, but the *patronus* and his wife were dead, at the time that the stone was cut.

It appears possible to add somewhat to our knowledge of the industrial relations and environment of this group by adducing other inscriptions :

CIL., VI, 9443 :

Iscrizione di bellissimo carattere in marmo già nell'architrave di una camera sepolcrale fuori la porta di S. Giovanni a mano destra uscendone; ora presso di me FEA. — Emptam Romae a Melchiade Fossati antiquario in museum Parmense intulit LOPEZ anno 1843, ubi servatur.

<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>
P · CLODIVS · P · L	CLODIA · P · L · PHILARGYRIS	P · RVTILIVS · P · L
METRODORVS	CONCVBINA	AMPHIO
GLVTINARIVS	ANNIA · M · L · DIONYSIA	

The distance between the places of finding of these two stones of *Clodii glutinarii* appears to preclude the possibility that they come from the same *columbarium*, though it should be noted, as we stated above, that our stone seems not to be in its original position. But the family name *Clodius* occurs in both ; the individuals in both (except for two secondary members of the second group) are freedmen of the Clodia family, and in fact of a *Publius Clodius* ; and in both of them the head of the group is a *glutinarius*. There were many *Publii* among the *Clodii*, but *glutinarii* are extremely rare among our records of Roman craftsmen. The inference is highly probable, that both groups of persons, or at least their founders, were freedmen of either the same P. Clodius or a near relative, and that their interest in the preparation of glue originated during the period of their status as slaves.

Glue, in the economy of the ancient world, occupied a position of some distinction, being a staple article not only in joiner's work but, in some instances, in the preparation of that prime material for literary activity, papyrus, and for the ivory inlay and joining which characterised some of the noblest products of the artistic genius. See DAREMBERG AND SAGLIO, *Dict. des Ant.*, ii, 1614 f. ; iv, 320 ; H. BLÜMNER, *Technologie und Terminologie*, i, 2d ed., Leipzig and Berlin, 1912, pp. 318 f. ; ii, Leipzig, 1879, p. 373. The most important literary references are PLINY, *N. H.*, xiii, 81 f. ; xvi, 232 ; AELIAN, *Nat. Animal.*, xvii, 32 ; the passage in CLEMENS AL., *Paed.*, ii, 3, 35, 1, p. 188 P., where *λεθοκολλήτων* is used of cups, must be excluded, as glue is not adapted to this purpose, and soldering or welding is meant ; but in section 3 of the same chapter *ἐλεφαντοκόλλητοι* is used of *κλίνας*.

P · CLODIVS · A · ET · CLODIAE · L · BROMIVS · EBORARIVS
CVRIATIA · AMMIA · CONCVBINA · MEI · AMANTISSIMA
HILARIO · P · ET · CVRIATIAE · DELICIAE
P · CLODIVS · P · ET · CVRIATIAE · L
RVFIO
P · CLODI · P · L · HERACLIDAE
SVAVIS · CVRIATIAE · L

CIL., VI, 7655, in the Vigna Randanini on the Via Appia :

In these two latter inscriptions, we find, first a *P. Clodius*, who through some chance, despite his praenomen, is *A. et Clodiae l.*, at the head of a group of freedmen of a *P. Clodius*, — with him we assume that the other men of the group were associated, — and then a freedman of a *Sex. Clodius*, who are devoted to work in ivory or to trade in that commodity¹: an industrial interest, as we have seen, closely allied to that of the *glutinari*. Assuming, as in the circumstances seems not unreasonable, that all these inscriptions are of approximately the same period, we appear faced with an industrial and social system of some significance. It is clear that the institution of slavery and freedmanship constituted a means by which the Roman organism could assimilate elements from outside, first initiating them in apprenticeship to the arts and crafts and then admitting them as members of small groups of similar artisans, recruited from the same slave families. It may be accepted as evidence that the slave's life was by no means an intolerable one in practice, that a fair number of these persons not only learned and exercised a craft while still slaves, but were enabled to obtain their freedom, after which they chose to maintain relations, and to pursue occupations, closely similar to those to which they had become accustomed while still slaves.

We may now consider other instances in which Clodii, whether or not attested as freedmen, were engaged in the luxury handicrafts or in those branches of merchandise that had a certain affinity with them : the evidence of the inscriptions presents a picture of some coherence and considerable interest.

¹ The mention, *CIL.*, vi, 7885, and *Not. Scav.*, 1905, p. 100, no. 1 = *CIL.*, vi, 37374^a, of the craft of *politor*

eborarius, suggests a somewhat specialised industry. See, in general, *TLL.*, s. v. *eborarius*.

CIL., vi, 9207 : a *Clodia Cypare* is associated with an *aurifex de Sacra Via*; she is the daughter of his wife by a former marriage.

9543 : *C. Clodius Fausti l. Felix* is designated as *ad marg(arita)*.

9848 : *P. Clodius Philonicus* is a *purpurarius*.

9929 : *M. Clodius M. l. Cadmus* is a *thuraris* (*sic*)¹.

9955 : *P. Clodius P. l. Dida* is a *vascularius*; while the high repute of the *vasa ex argento* known as *Clodiana* and the *caelatura Clodiana* appears from *PLINY, N. H.*, xxxiii, 139, and *CIL.*, vi, 9222 = *DESSAU, ILS.*, 7695. Moreover, *P. Clodius Proculus*, maker of Arretine ware (*PAULY-WISSOWA, s. v. Clodius* 47), may well have been the son of a freedman of the family, and in his inexpensive clay products may have maintained something of the tradition of the silver *Clodiana*; the makers of terra-cotta lamps, *Clodius Hel.*, *CIL.*, xv, 6376, and *C. Clodius Suc.*, 6377, were perhaps not so ambitious (*TLL.*, s. v. *Clodius*).

The artisans of antiquity are in general for us so inarticulate that we may well be grateful to the carver of the inscription just cited, *CIL.*, vi, 9222 : the person commemorated was not a Clodius but was a freedman who moved in much the same walks of life as our *Clodii*; he followed the tradition of Clodian craftsmanship, and his epitaph is a tribute to the high ideals which it exemplified :

*d.m. | M. Canulei | Zosimi, | vix. ann. XXVIII, | fecit | patronus lib. | bene merenti. | Hic in vita sua nulli ma-ledixit, sine voluntate | patroni nihil fecit, | multum ponderis | auri arg. penes eum | semper fuit, concupiit ex eo | nihil umquam. Hic artem caela-tura Clodiana evicit omnes*².

2.

A fragment of white marble, m. 0.25 long, m. 0.18 high, m. 0.055 thick. Letters about m. 0.022 tall. The lower margin of the stone is preserved, with a border consisting of (from outside to inside) taenia, cymatium, and depressed groove. The fourth line is poorly cut, presumably added by another hand, and, through carelessness, is couched not in the dative but in the nominative.

c o s c J N i a e
c o s c o N I A E . J . L
c o s . O N I A E . J L . H
c J S C O N I A . 7

This is probably a remnant of a tomb inscription of the type in which, after the name in the nominative of the master of the household, with or without his wife's name in the

¹ A *collegium thurariorum et unguentariorum* in Rome occurs, *Not. Scav.*, 1911, 445.

² T. FRANK, *An Economic History of Rome*, 2d ed.,

Baltimore, 1927, 242 f., cites this inscription; but the original, for all its lapses in grammar, is better than any rendering.

dative or nominative, there follows *fecit* (omitted if the wife's name is in the nominative) *sibi et suis libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum* or the like ; variants may occur such as *dat locum libertis et libertabus* ; in some instances, such as the present one as interpreted by us, there may still follow the names of individual freedmen and freedwomen in the dative ; the nominative may also occur, as in the last line here ; cf. *CIL.*, vi, 15864 ; 15885 ; 16094 ; 34663. The three last names in our inscription are those of freedwomen of the wife ; probably they formed the end of a list arranged as in *Not. Scav.*, 1904, 106, or else the *Cosconia* from whose name they are derived was the *patrona* in her own right.

There is some slight evidence for the existence of a burial area of the *Cosconii* (the name is not excessively frequent in Rome, contrasting in this respect with *Clodius*) near the present Porta S. Pancrazio : *CIL.*, vi, 3491, a tombstone erected by a *Cosconia*, was found outside that gate¹, and 16490, to a *Cos-[conius, unless -inius]*, was found near that gate². The present fragment may well have been brought the short distance in from that area to where it was discovered. Apart from this consideration, we are acquainted with no structural remains in the immediate vicinity which might be interpreted as funerary in character, and we have no information as to the finding of any burial area within the limits of the Aurelian Wall on the Janiculum. Moreover, if, as is probable³, there was a similar though less extensive fortified area here from late republican times, it is improbable that burial would have been allowed within the boundaries thus formed. The mills of this region were in active use in late antiquity, and it is in that general period that refuse from the neighboring cemetery area might well have been brought here to be used as building material or filling.

¹ *Reperta extra Portam Aureliam*, hardly the less-known gate of the same name.

² This sepulchral region is treated in JORDAN-HÜLSEN, *Topogr.*, I, iii, 648 f. The topography of the catacombs is treated by A. SILVAGNI, in *Riv. di Archeol. Crist.*, ix, 1932, 103-118.

³ G. SÄFLUND, *Le mura di Roma repubblicana*, Lund, 1932, 188 f. (This important treatise, which was also published as an Upsala thesis, constitutes the first volume of *Skifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* = *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sveciae*).



1. Channels at Points C and B.



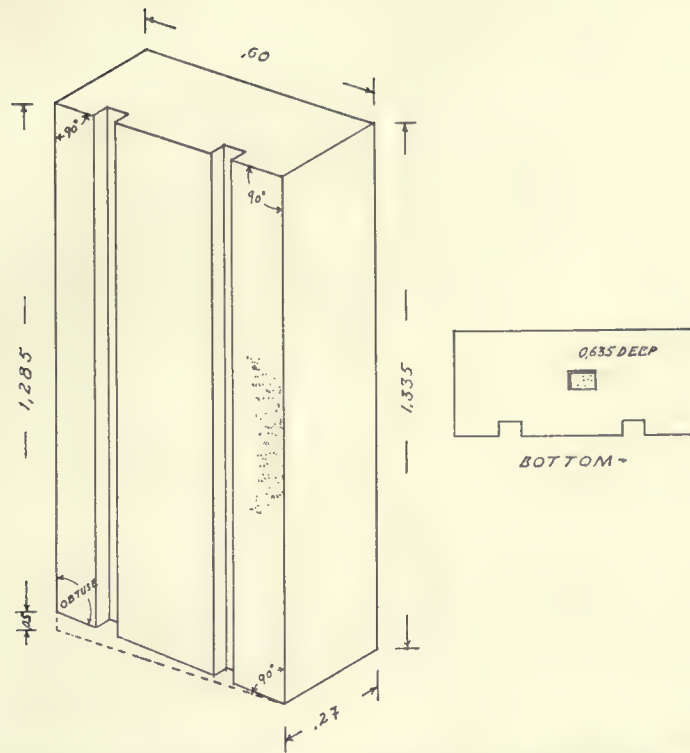
2. Channel at B.



3. Channel at D.



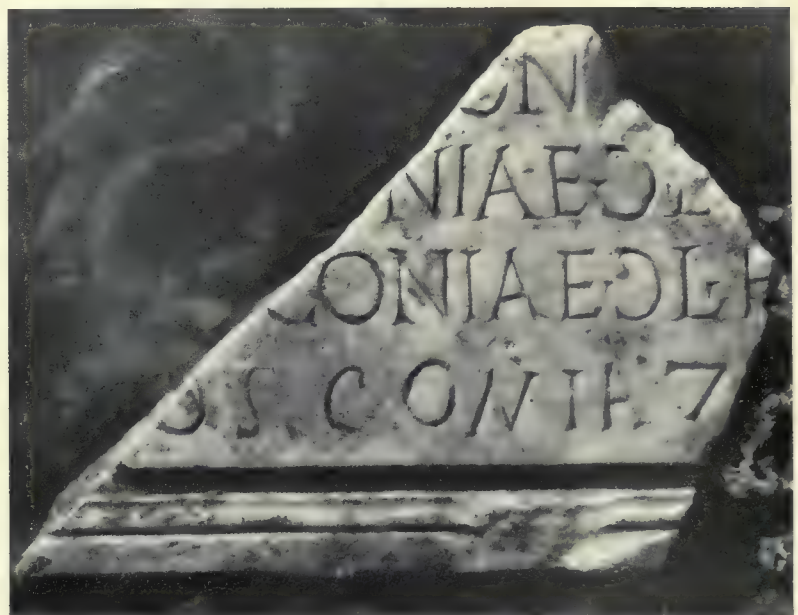
4. Channel at E.



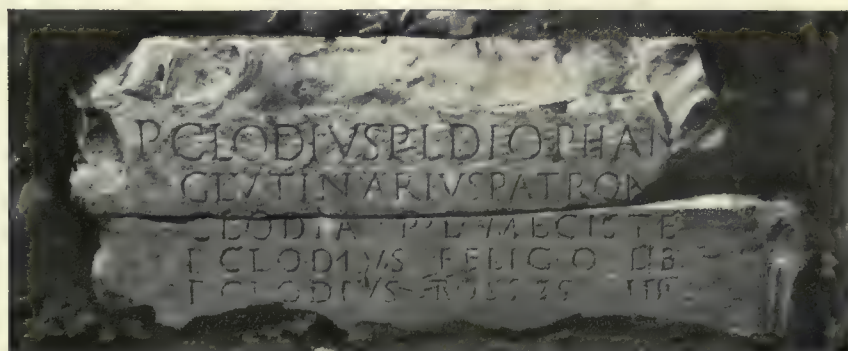
1. Sluice Stone: Isometric Drawing, and Plan of Bottom.



2. The Same Stone.



4. Inscription of Cosconiae.



3. Inscription of Clodii.

THE SLEEP OF DEATH.

MARBURY B. OGLE.

AS a text for the discussion which follows, although the discussion may not always, I am afraid, cling closely to the text, these well-known lines from Catullus and Horace may suffice ; CATULLUS, v, 5-6 : *nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux, / nox est perpetua una dormienda* ; HORACE, *Od.*, i, 24, 5-6 : *ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor / urget* ; *Od.*, iii, 11, 38-39 : *surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde / non times, detur*. Common to these passages, it will be noted, is the metaphorical identification of "sleep" with "death", expressed by the verb *dormire* in CATULLUS, by the nouns *sopor* and *somnus* in HORACE.

This conception of death as a sleep occurs, although not as frequently as we are inclined to think, in pre-Christian Greek and Latin literature, appearing as early as HOMER, *Il.*, xi, 241 : *κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον*, the only instance, editors note, of this phrase in Greek poetry, and again in *Il.*, xiv, 482-3 : *Πρόμαχος δεδμημένος εὔδει | ἔγχει ἐμῷ*. In HOMER occurs also the expression of the similarity of a natural sleep to death in the phrases in *Odyss.*, xiii, 79-80 : *ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἐπίπτεν... | ... θανάτῳ ἀγχιστα ἰοικώς*, in *Il.*, xvi, 672 : *Ὑπνῷ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν*, and in *Il.*, xiv, 231 : *ἐνδ' Ὑπνῷ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτοιο*. This last phrase is taken over by HES., *Theog.*, 756 : *Ὑπνον... κασίγνητον Θανάτοιο*. The Homeric tradition, — although the bold metaphor of *Il.*, xiv, 482-3 is softened to a simile, — reappears in HES., *Op.*, 116, where the poet says of the peaceful end of men in the Golden Age, *Ἐνῆσκον δ' ὥς ὕπνῳ δεδμημένοι*. Homer's thought of the brotherhood of Sleep and Death is used effectively in the saying attributed to Gorgias, who, as he was nearing the end of his life, and at a ripe old age, remarked upon being awakened from a short sleep, *ἤδη με ὁ ὕπνος ἄρχεται παρακατατίθεσθαι τὰδελφῷ* (AEL., *Var. Hist.*, ii, 35), and is echoed again by the poet EVENUS, fr., 2, 6 (*Anth. Lyr. Gr.*, ed. DIEHL, Teubner, 1925, i, p. 79) : *βαπτίζει δ' ὕπνῳ, γείτονι τοῦ θανάτου*.

This comparison of death to sleep evidently became a commonplace in the discussions of philosophers concerning the nature of death and in their arguments to combat the fear of it. Thus PLATO uses it in the famous words which he puts into the mouth of Socrates,

Apol., 40 C-D: καὶ δὴ εἴτε μηδεμία αἰσθησίς ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ὕπνος, ἐπειδὴν τις καθεύδων μηδ' ὄναρ μηδὲν ὀρά, θαυμασίον κέρδος ἂν εἴη ὁ θάνατος, a passage which clearly inspired XENOPHON to ascribe a similar thought to Cyrus, *Cyr.*, viii, 7, 21: ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων θανάτῳ οὐδὲν ἐστιν ὕπνου. Evidently in ridicule of such usage the comic poet MNESIMACHUS made one of his characters say: ὕπνος τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήρια (fr., 11, KOCK, *C.A.F.*, ii, p. 442). The comparison seems to have found a place in the famous περὶ Πένθους of Crantor and from him or his source to have passed on to the Latin LUCRETIUS, who, however, as a poet, identifies death with sleep, *de Rer. Nat.*, iii, 909-910: *quid sit amari / tanto opere, ad somnum si res redit atque quietem*; cf. 921: *nam licet aeternum per nos sic esse soporem*. Both Crantor and Lucretius certainly could have been counted among those men of whom CICERO speaks in *Tusc.*, i, 91-92: *mors.... quam qui leviores faciunt, somni simillimam volunt esse.... habes somnum imaginem mortis*. In two other passages, however, CICERO translates the thought directly from Plato and Xenophon, from Plato in *Tusc.*, i, 97, from Xenophon in *de Sen.*, 80. Crantor directly or indirectly may be the source of the sentence in Ps.-PLUT., *Cons. ad Ap.*, 12: εἰ γὰρ δὴ ὕπνος τίς ἐστιν ὁ θάνατος καὶ περὶ τοὺς καθεύδοντας μηδὲν ἐστὶ κακόν. Here, too, there is an echo of Plato's words: παραπλήσιον... εἶναι τὸν θάνατον ἥτοι τῷ βαρυτάτῳ ὕπνῳ ἢ ἀποδημία μακρᾷ καὶ πολυχρονίῳ ἢ....: also of the line from Mnesimachus. The author also cites the passages from Homer which I have quoted above and applies the story, resembling in essence that which Aelian tells of Gorgias, to Diogenes the Cynic.

It is a striking fact and one, I think, not without significance, that the metaphor of the sleep of death, which is so common in modern poetry, seems to have found little favor with the Greek poets of the centuries from Homer to the Alexandrian period. It does not occur, if I may trust my own reading, in iambic or elegiac poetry, — if we may except Evenus, — nor even in the epigram whether actually existing on tombs or in literary form. In the lyric I have noted a possible example in PINDAR, fr., 139 (ed. SCHROEDER, Teubner, 1908), τὸ δὲ κοιμίσσαν(το) τρεῖς (θεὰ υἱῶν) σώματ' ἀποφθιμένων: the text, however, is very uncertain. In the tragedy, also, the examples are relatively few. AESCHYLUS, *Choeph.*, 906, affords a striking instance of its use when he makes Orestes, who has just slain Aegisthus, say to his mother, as he is about to slay her: τούτῳ θανοῦσα συγκαθέυδ', ἐπεὶ φιλεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον. The word συγκαθέυδε is thus a brutal *double entendre* since it may mean "lie with" as well as "sleep with". Sophocles furnishes two examples, both, it is to be noted, in choruses and each as part of prayers; *El.*, 508-509: εὔτε γὰρ ὁ ποντισθεῖς | Μύρτιλος ἐκοιμάσῃ, where the word ἐκοιμάσῃ is effectively used, as KAIBEL notes, to contrast the violent deed of Myrtilus with his peaceful end; *Ai.*, 831-2: καλῶ δ' ἅμα | πομπαῖον Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον εὔ με κοιμίζει. Similar use of this word occurs in two passages in EURIPIDES, both choral and both in prayers, *Troad.*, 591-594: σύ τ', ὦ λῦμ' Ἀχαιῶν, | ... κοίμισαί μ' ἐς Ἄϊδου. *Hipp.*, 1386-1388: εἴθε με κοιμίσσεις... Ἄϊ-δου. In this chorus also διευνάω is similarly

used, 1375-1377: λόγχας ἔραμαι, | διαμοιρᾶσαι | διὰ τ' εὐναῖσαι τὸν ἐμὸν βίον. One other certain example¹ of the metaphor occurs in the chorus in *Hec.*, 472-474: Τιτάνων γενεὰν τὰν Ζεὺς ἀμφιπύρῳ | κοιμί-|ζει φλογμῷ Κρονίδας. It may not be amiss to add, as negative evidence, at least, showing that the metaphor was not a commonplace in the tragedy, that there are no examples of it in the plays of Seneca. The normal idea in classical Greek poetry is better represented by EURIP., fr., 537 (NAUCK): ὁ δ' ὑπὸ γῆν Ἄιδου σκότος | οὐδ' εἰς ὄνειρον ἡδὺς ἀνθρώποις μολεῖν. Cf. fr., 536, 803, and *Iph. Aul.*, 1251.

In the poetry of the Hellenistic period, on the other hand, the use of the metaphor is frequent, although it appears chiefly in phrases which are reminiscent of Homer. Thus THEOCR., xxii, 204, says of the death of Lynceus, καὶ δ' ἄρα οἱ βλεφάρων βαρὺς ἔδραμεν ὕπνος. Otherwise the examples are practically confined to one genre, that of the literary epitaph; cf. CALL., *Ep.*, xi (9), (*A.P.*, vii, 451):² τᾷδε Σάων ὁ Δίκωνος Ἀκάνθιος ἱερὸν ὕπνον | κοιμᾶται· θνάσκειν μὴ λέγε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς. ID., *Ep.*, xviii (16), 3-4 (*A.P.*, vii, 459):³ ἡ δ' ἀποβρίξει | ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον. ID., lxii (61) (*A.P.*, vii, 725): ὁ μοι πεπρωμένος ὕπνος | ἦλθεν. AESCHRIO, fr., 6, ap. ATHEN., 335 C (DIEHL, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.*, i, 288): ἐγὼ Φιλαινὶς... | ἐνταῦθα γῆρα τῷ μακρῷ κεκοίμημαι. LEONIDAS of TARENTUM,⁴ *A.P.*, vii, 408: μὴ τὸν ἐν ὕπνῳ | πικρὸν ἐγείρητε σφῆκ' ἀναπαυόμενον. ἄρτι γὰρ Ἰππώνακτος ὁ... | ἄρτι κεκοίμηται θυμὸς ἐν ἡσυχίῃ. DIOTIMUS (or LEONIDAS),⁵ *A.P.*, vii, 173, 3-4: αἰαῖ, Θηρίμαχος δὲ παρὰ ὄρου τὸν μακρὸν εὐδῇ | ὕπνον· ἐκοιμήθη δ' ἐκ πυρὸς οὐρανοῦ. CARPHYLLIDES, in *A.P.*, vii, 260, 7-8: τὸν γλυκὺν ὕπνον | κοιμᾶσθαι χώρην πέμψαν ἐπ' εὐσεβέων. PHILIPPUS, in *A.P.*, vii, 405, 4: μὴ πῶς ἐγείρης σφῆκα τὸν κοιμώμενον, a clear echo of Leonidas, quoted above. STATILIUS FLACCUS, in *A.P.*, vii, 290, 3: πυμάτῳ βεβαρημένον ὕπνῳ. The metaphor occurs also in the related genre of the pastoral lament; cf. MOSCHUS⁶, iii, 103-4: ὁππότε πρᾶτα θάνωμες, ἀνάκοι ἐν χθονὶ κοίλῃ | εὐδομες εὖ μάλα μακρὸν ἀτέρμονα νήγρετον ὕπνον. In BION, on the other hand, i, 71 (WILAMOWITZ, p. 124), we have a return to the reflective simile in his description of the dead Adonis: νέκυς ὦν καλὸς ἐστί, καλὸς νέκυς, οἷα καθεύδων. I may note finally the epitaph on the philosopher Bias which DIOGENES LAERT., i, 5, 85, claims as his own (= *A.P.*, vii, 91): ἀποκλινθεῖς | παιδὸς ἐς ἀγκαλίδας μακρὸν ἔτεινεν ὕπνον. This epigram, with its literary tags, is to be compared with the actual epitaph, which Diogenes quotes, erected by the city, in which no word for sleep appears.

In this poetry of the Hellenistic period Catullus and Horace may have found the sug-

¹ *Hipp.*, 562 may be another example but the text is doubtful. The reading given by WECKLEIN is: Κύπρις... τοκάδα | τὰν Διογόνοιο Βάκχον | νυμφευσαμένην πότμῳ | φονίῳ κατέλυσεν. The majority of editors, however, read κατένυσεν. Cf. WECKLEIN's critical note.

² Cf. GEFFCKEN, *Griechische Epigramme*, Heidelberg, 1916, p. 112.

³ Cf. GEFFCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 112, no. 278.

⁴ Cf. GEFFCKEN, *Leonidas of Tarentum*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 76-77, no. 40.

⁵ Cf. GEFFCKEN, *op. cit.*, p. 131, no. 100, and on the question of authorship, pp. 10, 131.

⁶ Ed. WILAMOWITZ, *Oxford Class. Texts*, Oxford, 1910, p. 94.

gestion for the metaphorical use of *dormire* and of *sopor* and *somnus* in the passages I have quoted, or they may have remembered Lucretius. On the other hand, Homer's words in *Il.*, xi, 241, were in VERGIL'S mind when he wrote *Aen.*, x, 745-746 (= xii, 309-310): *olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget / somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem*, just as he recalled *Odys.*, xiii, 79-80, when writing *Aen.*, vi, 522: *dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti*; cf. *Aen.*, vi, 278: *consanguineus Leti Sopor*; SEN., *Herc. Fur.*, 106-109: *Somne..../frater durae languide Mortis*.

The comparatively few¹ references in pre-Hellenistic Greek literature and in Roman literature of the Republic to the sleep of death suggest the conclusion that the conception of death as a sleep is not a reflection of popular ideas but represents rather, as is surely the case with the Hellenistic epigram, a literary convention. This conclusion is certainly supported by the absence of any such figurative use of words for sleep as that illustrated by the examples quoted above from Greek and Latin sepulchral inscriptions, except such as are metrical in form and reminiscent in their phraseology of the literary epigram or of Homer. And none of these metrical inscriptions in which words for sleep do occur are earlier than the Greek-Roman period. Here belongs the epigram in KAIBEL, *Ep. Gr.*, 204, 7, from Cnidos, probably of the first century B. C., written in elegiac couplets after the Hellenistic pattern: ἀγνά πουλυγόητε, τί πένθιμον ὕπνον ἰαύεις; *Ibid.*, 202, from Cos, possibly of the first century A. D.²: εὐδεις... καὶ βαθὺν ὕπνον | εὐδεις. *Ibid.*, 101, from Athens: περίκειμαι νήδυμον ὕπνον.³ *Ibid.*, 223, from Miletus: ἐκοίμισεν ὕπνος ὁ λήθης. *Ibid.*, 312, from Smyrna: νύξ μὲν ἐμὸν κατέχει ζωῆς φάος ὕπνοδοτεῖρη | ἀλγεινῶν λύσσα νόσων δέμας ἥδ' ἔἵ ὕπνω | λήθης δῶρα φέρουσ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ προστ[άγ]μασι μοίρης (for the phrase νύξ... ὕπνοδοτεῖρη, cf. EURIP., *Orest.*, 174-175, and for the thought, *Bacch.*, 282). *Ibid.*, 318, from near Smyrna: [κ]:[μτ]θῆς ἐνθάδε κι[με]. *Ibid.*, 433, from Syria, probably second century: ὕπνος ἔχει σε, μάκαρ,... εὐδεις δ'.... *Ibid.*, 460, 3, from Syria: ἐνθάδε γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἰαύω (cf. 204 above). *Ibid.*, 559, 7-8, from Rome, second century: λέγε Ποσιλίην εὐδειν, ἄνερ, οὐ Σεμιτόν γάρ | θνήσκειν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἀλλ' ὕπνον ἡδὺν ἔχειν, reminiscent of CALL., *Ep.*, ix, above (p. 83). *Ibid.*, 607, 4, from Rome, third century: κοιμᾶται Καρακοῦττις. Cf. also I.G., xiv, 929, from Rome, Flavian or post-Flavian: ὁ ἀπλοῦς ὁ πάνμουσος ὁ

¹ For the purpose of this paper an exhaustive collection of examples was not necessary; but not a great many, I am sure, have escaped me and I feel safe in saying that the evidence for the prevalence of the idea of death as a sleep is not sufficient to justify the sweeping statements which are made concerning it. Thus COLLIGNON, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'Art grec*, Paris, 1911, 340, writes: "S'il est une pensée familière à l'antiquité, jusqu'à devenir un lieu commun, c'est que la mort est un sommeil sans fin." But the only evidence which he cites for this statement is Plato's comparison of death to sleep and two inscriptions, both of the Roman period.

Similarly, HEINZE'S note on HOR., *Od.*, i, 24, 5: "perpetuus sopor oder aeternus sopor (Lucr., iii, 921) der auch in Grabschriften unendlich oft wiederholte Euphemismus für mors," is certainly an exaggeration. Nor do the parallels which GEFFCKEN, *Gr. Epigr.*, 112, cites to illustrate CALLIMACHUS, *Ep.*, xvi, ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον illustrate the use of "sleep" but they refer merely to the inevitability of death.

² Cf. GEFFCKEN, *Gr. Ep.*, p. 148, no. 365.

³ Note the description of the dead man's profession, ἄδων θυμέλαισιν "Ομηρον.

Ἐφέσιος ἐνθάδε κοιμᾶται τὸν αἰώνιον ὕπνον, and the epigram of the Roman period from Athens, ed. PREGER, *Athen. Mitt.*, xix, 1894, 141: Κλώδιος, ὃ παροδεῖτα, τάφοις ὑπὸ τοῖσδε Σεκοῦνδος | κεῖμαι τὸν φθιμένων νήγρετον ὕπνον ἔχων (for the epithet, cf. MOSCHUS, iii, 103-104, cited above, (p. 83).

There is no doubt of the Christian character of an inscription of the year 344 from Syria¹: Ἰουλιανοῦ τόδε μνημα. μακροῦ βεβαρημένῳ ὕπνου (sic) (cf. *A.P.*, vii, 290, cited above); the editors note that the phrase is applied literally to sleep in *Anth. Plan.*, iv, 98 and in *St. Luke*, ix, 32. On the other hand it is perhaps to Hebrew circles rather than to Christian that we should assign the use of the noun κοίμησις on a curse tablet of the third century A.D. found at Carthage:² ὀρκίζω | σε τὸν θεὸν τὸν τὴν κοίμησίν σοι δεδωρη-
μένον | καὶ ἀπολύσαντά σε ἀπὸ δ[εσμῶ]ν τοῦ βίου Νεῦμομαω.

In the same way the few Latin inscriptions which show a similar metaphorical use of words for sleep and which can with reasonable assurance be called pagan are metrical in form, borrow phrases from classical poetry, and all are to be dated in the Augustan period or later. The relative scarcity of inscriptions before this period however prevents us from laying great stress upon statistics. We find the simple *somnus* in a fragment from Rome, BUECHER AND RIESE, *Carm. Lat. Ep.*, 1811: ...*somnus claudit ocellos*, an hexameter ending, imitating, as BUECHER noted, Ovid or Propertius who use similar phrases of a natural sleep; *ibid.*, Suppl. 1997, from Cirta: *hic tumultata silet aeterno munere somni*; and *sopor*, *ibid.*, 481, from Aquitania: *hic iacet aeterno devinctus membra sopore*; the ending of this hexameter is a figurative application of LUCR., *de Rer. Nat.*, iv, 453, 454, *cum suavi devinxit membra sopore / somnus*, and occurs also on a Christian inscription from Aquitania of the fifth century, *ibid.*, Suppl. 2099, line 1.³ Not uncommon, on the other hand, in inscriptions of the Empire is the dedicatory formula, *somno aeternali*, in which *somno* may or not be a personification⁴. *Dormire* occurs in an epitaph from Narbo, certainly not earlier than the Augustan period, written in iambic senarii, *C.I.L.*, xii, 5102 (= *Carm. Lat. Ep.*, 188): *perpoto in monumento meo / quod dormiendum et permanendum / heic est mihi*. Concerning the use of this word in pagan inscriptions, DE ROSSI⁵ remarks: *Nec inficior verbum dormire in ethnicis quoque epitaphiis interdum usurpatum fuisse, sed multo saepius in Christianis: et in ethnicis non ἀπλῶς, quasi sollemnis formula, quae Christianorum unice propria fuit, sed in ipsa dictionis serie ac contextu adhibetur*.

¹ Cf. *Syria, Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*, iii, A, Leyden, 1921, p. 152, no. 262.

² Cf. AUDOLLENT, *Defixionum Tabellae*, Paris, 1904, no. 242, 29-31.

³ Cf. DIEHL, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, Berlin, 1925-1931, 391.

⁴ For examples, see DESSAU, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, Berlin, 1892-1916, 8021-2-3-4, with his note on 8024. For

Somnus, cf. OTTO, in ROSCHER'S *Lex.*, iv, 1154-5; CUMONT, *After Life in Roman Paganism*, New Haven, 1922, 10, 192. For figures of *Hypnos* and *Thanatos* on Roman sarcophagi, cf. SAUER, in ROSCHER'S *Lex.*, i, 2, 2850; COLLIGNON, *Les Statues funéraires*, 329-341.

⁵ In his note on a fragmentary inscription, no. 9, in *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, i, Rome, 1857-1861, on which appears at the end DORMIT. The date is given by the names of the consuls of the year 249 A. D.

Although there can be no doubt of the essential validity of the principle here laid down by the great master, I am not sure of the correctness of *interdum*; the statement is certainly not borne out by the inscriptions in the *C.I.L.* In conformity with this principle, De Rossi considered Christian an inscription from Rome of the middle of the fourth century (*C.I.L.*, vi, 3604): *Q. Ragoniae Cyriaceti coniugi dulcissime / et incomparabili univiriae caste bone, / que vixit annis XXI mes. VIII diebus II, / Q. Iulius Donatianus optio (centurionis) coh. III. / cum quam bene vixi ann. VIII mesib. VIII / dieb(us) XXIII, quam nupsi annor. XII / mesum XI dierum XIII. coniugi / bene merenti. hic dormit.* The editors of the *Corpus* were evidently not convinced that the inscription was Christian (cf. HENZEN, *C.I.L.*, vi, Praef., v), but De Rossi's judgment was followed by Silvagni — who however cites without committing himself — and by Diehl,¹ and my own investigations lead me to agree that the presence of *hic dormit* was due to Christian influence. At the same time it is to be noted that the acceptance of this judgment raises interesting questions. On the one hand, if the inscription is Christian, the use of the *tria nomina*, the omission of the date of death, the mention of the name of the surviving husband, the simple formula *hic dormit*, point to an early date,² and yet the inscription, as one would guess from the language and from the length, even if there were no other indications, is not early. On the other hand, the mention of the husband's military service and especially the absence of the date of death imply, since the inscription is not early, a pagan origin. The only solution seems to be that a pagan husband erected the stone to his Christian wife. The same questions are raised by another inscription from Rome, certainly not earlier than the first century A. D.;³ *C.I.L.*, vi, 10106 (= DESSAU, 5211): *dormi / Claudiae / Hermionae / archimimae su-/i temporis pri-/mae here/des.* If one may judge from the absence of this inscription from the great collections of Christian inscriptions, their editors must have considered it pagan, as the editors of the *Corpus* certainly did, and this conclusion is supported by the presence of the word *heredes* which is most rare in Christian inscriptions.⁴ The profession of the deceased is mentioned, and is in the pagan tradition. If the inscription is pagan, one must be content with calling it the exception which proves De Rossi's rule.⁵

Both the literary and epigraphical evidence, therefore, tends to suggest that the idea

¹ SILVAGNI, *Inscr. Chr. Urbis Romae*, N. S., i, Rome, 1922, 3116; DIEHL, *Inscr. Lat. Chr.*, 404.

² Cf. DE ROSSI, *Inscr. Chr.*, i, cx; LE BLANT, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, i, Paris, 1856, xxv; KAUFMANN, *Handbuch der Altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg, 1917, 34.

³ It is probably of the late second or early third century. My colleague, Professor A. W. VAN BUREN, calls my attention to a group of inscriptions of actors — without *dormire* — containing the formula *sui temporis prim-*, most of which bear undoubted indications of Antonine or Severan date: DESSAU, *ILS.*, 5186, 5193, 5194, 5212.

⁴ Cf. LE BLANT, *op. cit.*, i, 132.

⁵ The construction of *dormi*, it may be noted, is not clear. It seems to be an imperative addressed to the dead but I have noted no other example of *dormire* used alone as an acclamation, and only one of *dormi in pace*, SILVAGNI, *Inscr. Chr.*, N. S., 1283; cf. F. GROSSI GONDI, *Trattato di Epigrafia Christiana Latina e Greca*, Rome, 1920, 232. Professor Van Buren suggests that it may be a playful expansion of the usual *D. M.* If *dormi* is pres. indic., then I know of no other example of *dormire* so used without *hic* or a name in the nominative, although this may be the case of *dorm-* in *C.I.L.*, xi, 4741.

of the sleep of death was one which did not become current among the Greeks until the period after Alexander's conquests when they were brought into intimate contact, especially in Alexandria, with peoples of other stock, resulting in the give and take of ideas which such a contact inevitably entails. This conclusion finds striking confirmation in the history of a familiar type of Hellenistic sepulchral art.

It is characteristic of several important phases of sepulchral art among the Greeks of both the archaic and classical periods that the figures of the dead which it represents are represented either as idealized types of heroes or of gods or as human beings still engaged in the activities of life whether those of joy or of sorrow.¹ During the Hellenistic period, however, a new motive is introduced into sepulchral art, that of the human figure stretched out at full length upon the cover of a sarcophagus as if sunk in a calm and dreamless sleep. The earliest examples of such figures were found in the necropolis of Sidon and it is agreed that the type was suggested to the Phoenicians by Egyptian anthropoid coffins. From Phoenicia the type passed into other parts of the Mediterranean world, especially to Carthage, and it appears as far west as Gades.² By the beginning of the fifth century the influence of Greek art begins to show itself and during the fourth and third centuries this influence has become supreme, resulting, for example, in the lovely sleeping figure from the necropolis of Santa Monica, at Carthage.³ During the same period the Etruscans began to adopt the type and the similarity between the examples found in Etruria and those found in Carthage suggests influence from a common center, probably Sicily.⁴ Through the medium of the Etruscans the type passed to the Romans and became, during the Empire, one of the most familiar forms of sepulchral decoration.⁵ It is clear, therefore, that this type of sleeping figure did not owe its creation to the Greeks; and this fact, taken into connection with the few references to the sleep of death in their literature of the classical period and with the absence of all reference to it in their actual epitaphs of the same period, would seem to make the conclusion unavoidable that the conception of death as a sleep was not a natural one to the Greek folk, nor, I may add upon the evidence presented above, to the Roman. It may not be going too far to say that the sudden appearance of references to the sleep of death in the literary epitaphs of the Hellenistic period was due to the syncretism of Greeks with peoples of Phoenician stock to whom, if we may trust the evidence of art, the idea was familiar.

An interesting example of the result of this mixture of peoples during the last centuries before the Christian era is the famous inscription upon the monument of Antiochus I of Commagene, dating not long before 31 B. C., a document in which, although it is written

¹ Cf. COLLIGNON, *Les Statues funéraires*, 47-75, 126-139.

² Cf. HAMDY-REINACH, *op. cit.*, 127-178; COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, 360-372; CAGNAT, *Carthage, Timgad, Tébessa*, Paris, 1909, 6-8; MELTZER and KAHRSTEDT, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, iii, Berlin, 1913, 41-44.

³ Cf. COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, p. 366, fig. 233.

⁴ Cf. Martha, *L'Art étrusque*, Paris, 1889, 345-6; DUCATI, *Storia dell'Arte Etrusca*, Florence, 1927, i, 428-430; ii, plates 199, 491.

⁵ Cf. COLLIGNON, *op. cit.*, 370-383.

in Greek, Oriental and Greek ideas are so confused that it is impossible to say to which of the two is to be ascribed the use of the verb κοιμῶμαι in the sense of "die" in these lines: ¹ ὑπάρξαν σῶμα | μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς | Ὀρομάσδου ἑρόνους Θεοφιλῆ ψυχὴν | προπέμφαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοι-|μήσεται. That this word had come to be commonly used, in the Orient at least, in this sense is perhaps shown by its appearance in a legal papyrus from the Fayûm ² which, although it dates from the first century A. D., is surely too early to have been influenced by Christian ideas. The document is a marriage contract in which provisions are made, in the case of divorce, for the maintenance of any issue from the union. Line 28 then reads: ἐὰν τὸ παιδίον κυμήσητα[ι]: for this form of κοιμῶμαι, cf. PREISIGKE, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, i, Berlin, 1925, 811.

This use of the verb κοιμῶμαι finds a parallel in the frequent occurrence in Hebrew inscriptions of the noun κοίμησις in such expressions as, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησις, μετὰ τῶν δικαίων ἢ κοίμησις. *en irene cumesis*, or, in their Latin form, *dormitio in pace*, *dormitio inter dicais* or *in bonis*. ³ Since these inscriptions, however, do not antedate the Christian era, since, too, they are not written in Hebrew characters ⁴ but in Greek or Latin or both, rarely with the Hebrew text added to the Greek or Latin, and since the nouns κοίμησις and *dormitio* occur frequently in Christian inscriptions, it is difficult to decide definitely the question of priority. ⁵ In support, however, of the Hebrew, or at least Oriental, origin of this use of these words we have, on the one hand, the evidence of art which, as we have seen, represents death literally as a κοίμησις, and, on the other, the fact that, although Christian inscriptions have the simple κοίμησις or κοιμητήριον, Latin, *dormitio*, *coemeterium* ⁶ (rare),

¹ Edd. DITTENBERGER, *OGIS.*, 383; JALABERT and MOUTERDE, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, i, Paris, 1929, no. 1, lines 40-44.

² Ed. GRENFELL, HUNT, and HOGARTH, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*, London, 1900, p. 127, no. xxii, line 28.

³ For a discussion and bibliography of these inscriptions, cf. DE RICCI, in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, N. Y., 1925, s. v. Paleography, ix, 471-475. For convenient collections, cf. MONCEAUX, *Épigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique*, ii, in *Revue Archéologique*, Ser. iv, iii, 1904, 354-373; VOGELSTEIN and RIEGER, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Berlin, 1895-6, i, 50-63 and Beilagen, pp. 459-483; MÜLLER and BEES, *Die Inschriften der Judischen Katakomben am Monteverde zu Rom*, Leipzig, 1919; DIEHL, *Inscr. Chr.*, ii, Appendix, 488-497.

⁴ On this question of language, cf. MÜLLER, in *Atti e Dissertazioni della Pontif. Accademia romana di Archeologia*, xii, 1915, 278-281.

⁵ Cf. BAYET, *de Titulis Atticae Christ. antiquis*, Paris, 1878, 43-53; VOGELSTEIN and RIEGER, *op. cit.*, i, 56. The word κοίμησις appears from the third century in Christian inscriptions from Rome and other parts of

the Mediterranean world; cf. GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 195; STRAZZULLA, *Museum Epigraphicum*, Palermo, 1897, nos. 60, 186; KAIBEL, *I. G.*, xiv, 119, 152, 191; LEFEBVRE, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrét. d'Egypt*, Cairo, 1907, p. xxx. The word *dormitio* appears in an inscription from the catacomb of Callisto which De Rossi put as early as the beginning of the second century; cf. DIEHL, *Inscr. Chr.*, 3236; other examples in his note on 3236 A.

⁶ The word κοιμητήριον is frequently applied to a single grave in Christian inscriptions from Attica; cf. BAYET, *op. cit.*, nos. 2-25, 27, 28, 31, etc.; cf. pp. 43-48; so in a third-century inscription from Macedonia, *C.I.G.*, 9439; cf. the inscription from Syria in *Princeton Univ. Expedition*, no. 1041, with PRENTICE's note. It is rare on Jewish tombs; cf. BAYET, no. 121. On the other hand, the Latin *coemeterium* is very rarely used of a single grave, as in the inscription from Florence, *C.I.L.*, xi, 1700, but often of a burial place; cf. DE ROSSI, *Roma Sott.*, i, 83-86; iii, 428; HEUSER, in KRAUS, *Real-Ency.* s. v. *Coemeterium*; GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 244.

they very rarely, if at all,¹ have the formula ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοίμησιν, Latin, *dormitio in pace*. It is exactly this formula, however, which appears most frequently on Jewish tomb-stones, from Jewish cemeteries in Rome at least, the date of many of which is certainly not later than that of Christian stones having similar formulae and may be earlier, perhaps from the second century.² There are also examples from Southern Italy, especially from the cemetery at Venusia, although these are late.³ That the formula was current among Roman Jews⁴ by the early part of the third century is proved beyond doubt by an inscription published by FREY,⁵ in which it appears, which dates from the time of Alexander Severus, who reigned from 222 to 235. An interesting variation of the formula appears in an inscription⁶ from South Italy in which the Latin, ending, *sit pax sup(er) dormitorium eorum. a(men)*, is followed by the Hebrew translation.

No less importance than is possessed by epigraphy and art as indicating a Hebrew (or at least Oriental) provenance for these and similar references to the sleep of death adheres to the fact that in Hebrew literature, as represented in the Old Testament, as early at least as the sixth century B. C., the dead are often — and here one notes a marked contrast with Greek literature — denoted as “those asleep”, and death as “a sleep”, thus reminding one at once of the sarcophagi discussed above. Since passages from the Old Testament play an important part in the establishing of a tradition which appears in the New Testament,

¹ This is also the opinion of DE RICCI, *loc. cit.*, 474. On the other hand GROSSI GONDI, 453 and MARUCCHI, *Éléments d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, i, Paris, 1889, 221 cite this formula among those common to Christians and Hebrews. Two examples are given from Rome in SILVAGNI, *Inscr. Chr.*, N. S., 1876, perhaps from the third century, and 2573, although both De Rossi and Silvagni were inclined to think the latter Jewish; there is a possible example in a fragment from the catacomb of St. Hermes, MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 222, not earlier than the fourth century. To the same period or later belongs the inscription from the necropolis of Antinoopolis, published by LEFEBVRE, *op. cit.*, no. 189. The corresponding Latin formula, *dormitio in pace*, appears in SILVAGNI, *Inscr. Chr.*, 2395, and a possible example from the fourth century *ibid.*, 3158, fragmentary, *io in pace*. The word, however, may have been *depositio*, for which cf. DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 3030. Formulae with the verbs, κοιμᾶσθαι, *dormire*, *dormivit in pace*, etc., are common; cf. GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 192, 195.

² Cf. MÜLLER and BEES, *op. cit.*, who assign the following to the second or third century: 3, 6, 7, 12, 14, 18, 67, 87, 118, 174; other examples from the different Jewish cemeteries in Rome given in VOGELSTEIN and RIEGER, *op. cit.*, Beilagen, pp. 459-483; for the Latin forms cited above, cf. nos. 143, 144, 158; cf. also DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 4971-4985.

³ Cf. C.I.L., ix, pp. 660-665. Note 6408=DIEHL,

4983: *depositio en pce*, the same formula which is found in the Christian inscription, cited above, p. 89, n. 1, DIEHL, 3030.

⁴ That I can quote no examples except those from Italy and Rome is due chiefly to my own ignorance of Jewish antiquities, although it may be due also to the fact that inscriptions which have this formula and may, therefore, be Jewish are included among Christian inscriptions. This is the case, I think, with the inscription quoted from LEFEBVRE, above, p. 89, n. 1. Why the formula should have been so common in Rome may be explained perhaps by reference to the observation made by MONCEAUX, in *Rev. Arch.*, Ser. iv, iii, 1904, 359, concerning the difference between the forms of Jewish inscriptions found in Carthage and those found in Numidia and Mauretania, namely, that in the great urban centers like Carthage the Jews had their own cemeteries and maintained their own religious rites and formulae, whereas in the more isolated communities they buried their dead in Gentile cemeteries and imitated in their epitaphs the epitaphs of the neighboring tombs. There are no examples of the formula in question among the inscriptions published by Monceaux, but the salutation, “Šalôm,” in *pace*, is common.

⁵ « Una Comunità Giudaica di Arca del Libano, a Roma, nel III Sec. secondo una Iscrizione inedita, » in *Bull. Arch. Com.*, lviii, 1930, App., 97-106.

⁶ C.I.L., ix, 6402=DIEHL, 4985.

in the Greek and Latin Fathers, and in the liturgy of the Greek and Latin Church, I cite them in both the Greek and Latin versions.¹

An early, perhaps the earliest, expression of the metaphor is the traditional formula, "he sleeps with his fathers," which occurs frequently in *Kings* and *Chronicles* and may be dated therefore not far from 600 B. C. Here the Hebrew has the verb *šākhābh*, "sleep," which is translated by the Greek κοιμῶμαι, Lat. *dormire*; cf. *I Kings* (= III in *Septuagint*), i, 21: καὶ ἔσται ὡς ἂν κοιμηθῇ ὁ κύριός μου ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ: *Vulgata: eritque, cum dormierit dominus meus rex cum patribus suis*; ii, 10: ἐκοιμήθη Δαυεὶδ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ: *Vulgata: dormivit igitur David cum patribus suis*; cf. for the same phrase, *I Chron.*, xvii, 11; *II Chron.*, xvi, 13-4: καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἀσά μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ... καὶ ἐκοίμισαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης: *Vulgata: dormivitque cum patribus suis.... et sepelierunt eum posueruntque eum super lectum suum*. One is reminded of the sleeping figures of the sarcophagi by *II Kings*, (= *IV* in *Sept.*), iv, 32: ἰδοὺ τὸ παιδάριον τεθνηκώς, κεκοιμισμένον ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην αὐτοῦ: *Vulgata: ecce puer mortuus iacebat in lectulo eius*. Not much later than these passages are those in *Ezekiel*, xxxi, 18: ἐν μέσῳ ἀπεριτμήτων κοιμηθήσῃ μετὰ τραυματιῶν μαχαίρας: *Vulgata: in medio incircumcisorum dormies, cum eis qui interfecti sunt gladio*, and xxxii, 20-32, where similar phrases occur. From the book of *Job*, I cite three passages, the first of which is from that portion of the book which may belong to the traditional structure of the poem; the second and third are later; *Job*, iii, 11-14: διὰ τί γὰρ ἐν κοιλίᾳ οὐκ ἐτελεύτησα... νῦν ἂν κοιμηθεῖς ἡσύχασα, ὑπνώσας δὲ ἀνεπαυσάμην μετὰ βασιλέων βουλευτῶν γῆς: *Vulgata: quare non in vulva mortuus sum? ... nunc enim dormiens silerem et somno meo requiescerem cum regibus et consulibus terrae*; xiv, 12: ἄνθρωπος δὲ κοιμηθεῖς οὐ μὴ ἀναστῇ... καὶ οὐκ ἐξυπνισθήσονται ἐξ ὕπνου αὐτῶν: *Vulgata: homo, cum dormierit, non resurget nec consurget de somno suo*; xxi, 26: ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς κοιμῶνται, σαπρία δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλυψεν: *Vulgata: et tamen simul in pulvere dormient, et vermes operient eos*.

Even more importance for Christian tradition is assumed by passages in the *Psalms*, since from the very beginning of the Church the *Psalms* played a prominent part in its worship. The metaphorical use of the verb "sleep" may be illustrated by lxxxvii, 6: ὥσεί τραυματίαι ἐρριμμένοι καθεύδοντες ἐν τάφῳ, ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθης ἔτι: *Vulgata: sicut vulnerati dormientes in sepulcris, quorum non es memor amplius*. There are other passages which, although the reference is to a literal sleep, received an anagogical or metaphorical interpretation, reference to which will be made below, and are quoted by the Fathers in support of the doctrine of the Resurrection. Here belong *Ps.*, iii, 6: ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὑπνώσα:

¹ For the text of the *Septuagint* I have used the edition of SWETE, Cambridge, 1899; for the Greek text of the New Testament, the edition of SOUTER, Oxford, 1910; for Jerome's text of the *Gospels* and *Acts*, the edition of WORDSWORTH and WHITE, Oxford, 1898-1905; for the

Latin text of the other books, the *Vulgata Clementina*, ed. GRAMATICA, Milan, 1904. Whenever this differs, in the passages with which I have to deal, in any important respect from the pre-Jerome text, I call attention to the difference.

ἐξηγέρσῃ, ὅτι Κύριος ἀντιλήμψεταιί μου : *Vulgata: ego dormivi et soporatus sum; et exsurrexi, quia Dominus suscepit me*; iv, 9: ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κοιμηθήσομαι καὶ ὑπνώσω· ὅτι σύ, Κύριε, ... ἐπὶ ἐλπίδι κατώκισάς με : *Vulgata: in pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam, quoniam tu, Domine, in spe constituisti me*; cxxvi, 2: ὅταν δῶ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτοῦ ὕπνον : *Vulgata: cum dederit dilectis suis somnum*. There are two passages also in *Jeremiah* which seem to show a mixture of the literal and metaphorical: *Jer.*, li, 33: ἐκοιμήθην ἐν στεναγμοῖς, ἀνάπαυσιν οὐχ εὔρον : *Vulgata, xlv, 3*, with a curious variant in the first word : *laboravi in gemitu meo et requiem non inveni*; xxviii, 39: καὶ μεθύσω αὐτοὺς ὥπως καρωθῶσιν καὶ ὑπνώσωσιν ὕπνον αἰώνιον καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐγερθῶσι : *Vulgata, li, 39: et inebriabo eos, ut sopiantur et dormiant somnum sempiternum et non consurgant*.

With the passage just quoted from *Ps.*, iv, 9, the similarity of which to the Greek form of the Jewish inscriptional formula noted above (p. 88), ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ κοιμήσεις, is at once apparent, is to be compared the similar phrase in *Is.*, lvii, 2. Here the Hebrew text reads, *yābhō šālōm yānūhū 'āl mišk^ebhōthām*, meaning literally, "he," that is, the just man, "will enter into peace, they will rest upon their couches." ¹ In the *Septuagint* this is translated, ἔσται ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἢ ταφῇ αὐτοῦ. The rendering of Aquila was, however, closer to the original: ἐλθέτω ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἀναπαυσάσθωσαν ἐπὶ κοιτῶν αὐτῶν. ² The Greek text of the *Septuagint* was translated literally into the Latin of the pre-Jerome version of the Old Testament, which, as represented for example by CYPRIAN, *Test.*, ii, 14, read: ³ *a facie enim iniustitiae sublatu est iustus, erit in pace sepultura eius*. It is clear that TERTULLIAN had this version in mind when he wrote *adv. Gnos.*, 8: *a facie enim iniustitiae perit iustus et erit honor sepulturae eius*, and three other passages in which he confines his quotation to the words, *sepultura eius sublata de [or e] medio est [or erat]*, *adv. Marc.* iii, 19; iv, 43; *adv. Iud.*, 10. This is the version also which ST. JEROME quotes in bk. xvi of his *Comm. in Is.*, lix, 3-4: *a facie enim iniquitatis sublatu est iustus: erit in pace sepultura eius, tolleturque de medio*.

The translation of *Is.*, lvii, 2, however, which St. Jerome made directly from the Hebrew differs somewhat, as far at least as the language is concerned, from the *Old Latin* version. It reads, as preserved in the *Vulgata*, *veniat pax, requiescat in cubili suo*, a rendering closer to the original Hebrew than either the *Septuagint* or the *Versio Antiqua*. Here the noun *cubile* translates the Hebrew noun *miškābh*, a word which is used for the "couch of death", "the bier," in *Ezek.*, xxxii, 25, cited above (p. 90), and also in *II Chron.*, xvi,

¹ Cf. L. CL. FILLION, *La Sainte Bible commentée d'après la Vulgata*, 8^{ème} éd., Paris, 1925, vol. v, 482, who translates: "il (le juste) entrera dans la paix, il reposera sur sa couche (funèbre)". Better is the Latin rendering by FIELD, *Origines Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, Oxford, 1875, ii, 542: *ingreditur pacem, requiescunt in cubilibus suis*.

² The versions of Symmachus and Theodotion do not differ essentially from this; cf. Field, *op. cit.* The

difference between the Hebrew text and the translation in the *Septuagint* is noted by DEISSMANN in his remark on MÜLLER and BEES, *Die Inschr. d. Jud. Kat.*, no. 3, in which he queries, *Ob sich darin bereits die Aussergebrauchsetzung der von den Christen in Besitz genommenen Septuaginta durch das Judentum widerspiegelt?*

³ Cf. SABATIER, *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, Paris, 1751, ii, 2, 616-617.

13-4, (quoted, p. 90). The context of the passage in *Isaiah* demands the same meaning for the word, and the Greek translation therefore, ἡ ταφὴ, is not essentially different. The similarity between the Hebrew expression here and that in *Ps.*, iv, 9, on the one hand, and the inscriptional formula on the other, certainly points to the conclusion that this formula represents a mode of expression which was traditional among the Hebrews and which later passed from them, perhaps through Christianized Jews, to Christian Greeks and then to Latin in the form *dormitio tua in pace*. It is to be noted that the same word *mīškābh*, followed by the name of the dead person in the genitive, appears in two Jewish inscriptions from Venusia, *C.I.L.*, ix, 6218 (= DIEHL, 4969), and ix, 6220 (= DIEHL, 4893).¹

This Hebrew word is derived from the verb *šākhābh*, a verb which is used both of literal sleep and frequently also of the sleep of death. It has this figurative sense in *Job*, xiv, 12 (above, p. 90), where the *Sept.* has κοιμῶμαι, the Latin, *dormire*, and these two verbs are its normal representatives; so, too, in *Is.*, xiv, 8, where the Greek reads, ἀφ' οὗ σὺ κοιμήσῃ, οὐκ ἀνέβη ὁ κόπτων ἡμᾶς: *Vulgata: ex quo dormisti, non ascendet qui succidat nos*. And it is the verb which is used in the passages from *Kings* and *Chronicles* quoted above (p. 90), in the phrase, "he slept with his fathers." On the other hand, the noun *mīškābh*, as used in *Is.*, lvii, 2, appears in two passages in the book of *Sirach* (*Ecclesiasticus*), the Hebrew text of which was written during the first third of the second century B. C. and translated into Greek about 130 B. C.² This Greek translation attained wide popularity among Jews and early Christians, and the fact that it was the work of a Jew probably explains the use of the noun κοιμήσις to represent the Hebrew noun; xlvi, 19: καὶ πρὸ καιροῦ κοιμήσεως αἰῶνος ἐπεμαρτύρατο ἔναντι Κυρίου καὶ χριστοῦ: xlviii, 13: ἐν κοιμήσει ἐπρόφητευσεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. It is curious that these should be the only examples of the use of κοιμήσις in its figurative sense in the *Septuagint*, although the same Hebrew noun occurs in *Is.*, lvii, 2; *Ezek.*, xxxii, 25; and *II Chron.*, xvi, 14; this use of the noun, it would seem, could not have been common at the time when the earlier portions of the *Sept.* were written³. The Vulgate Latin version of the Greek, which was not made by Jerome⁴ but was one current in Africa during the first part of the third century, if not earlier, discards the figure, reading in the first passage: *et ante tempus finis vitae suae et saeculi testimonium prae-buit in conspectu Domini et christi*, and in the second: *et mortuum prophetavit corpus eius*.

There is a third passage in *Sirach* which deserves notice, xlvi, 20, where the Greek

¹ The Hebrew verb *nûah*, which is translated by Jerome, *requiescat*, and is used of the rest in Sheol in *Job*, iii, 17, rendered in the *Sept.* by ἀνεπαύσατο, by Jerome, *requieverunt*, is found on a Jewish inscription from Volubilis, Africa; cf. MONCEAUX, *Epigraphie chrétienne d'Afrique*, in "Rev. Arch.", Ser. iv, iii, 1904, 372.

² Cf. JORDAN, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.*, Leipzig, 1911, 445; LÉVI, in *Jewish Encycl.*, xi, 388-397; on the popularity of the book, cf. *ibid.*, 390-92; BOUSSET, *Die Religion des*

Judentums, 3te Auflage, Tübingen, 1926, 6.

³ The Syrian version, which was also made from the Hebrew, agrees with the Greek in reading "at the time when he rested on his bed"; cf. WACE, *Comm. on the Apocrypha*, London, 1888, note on vs. 19.

⁴ Cf. THIELMANN, *ALL.*, viii, 1893, 501-2; for his theory that the translation as we have it is the work of two men, the first an "African", the second, to whom he ascribes 44-50, a "European", cf. *ALL.*, ix, 1896, 247-284.

reads : καὶ μετὰ τὸ ὑπνώσαι αὐτὸν προσήτευσεν, the Latin : *et post hoc dormivit et notum fecit*. Here the Hebrew verb represented by ὑπνώω, Lat. *dormire*, is yāšēn which like šākhābh was used in both a literal sense as "sleep" and — as here — in a figurative sense of "die". This is the verb which is used in *Jer.*, *Vulgata*, li, 39 : *dormiant somnum sem-piternum*, where it has a cognate accusative rendered in the Greek (= *Sept.*, xxviii, 39), ὑπνώσωσιν ὕπνον αἰώνιον (above, p. 91), and in *Ps.*, xii (xiii), 4, where it has the noun "death" as its object, rendered in the Greek, μή ποτε ὑπνώσω εἰς θάνατον, in the Latin, *ne umquam obdormiam in morte*; cf. also *Ps.*, iv, 9 (above, p. 91). The same verb is used in *Dan.*, xii, 2, a book written about the beginning of the second century B. C., when the storm and stress of life were giving added impulse to the hope, which finds expression in this and other apocalyptic writings of the Jews, that "those asleep" will awaken to a happier life than the present affords.¹ The Greek reads : πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν γῆς χώματι [*al.*, ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς] ἐξεγερθήσονται, οὗτοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.... : *Vulgata* : *multi de his qui dormiunt in terrae pulvere evigilabunt, alii in vitam aeternam*.... The use of the adjective αἰώνιος recalls *Jer.*, xxviii, 39 (above, p. 91) and the noun αἰών in *Sirach*, xlvi, 19 and in the inscription of Antiochus I (above, p. 88); cf. also the inscription *I.G.*, xiv, 929 (above, p. 84).

It was this hope which led to the first offering and prayers for the dead among the Hellenistic Jews of which we have record, although in later Hebrew ritual, as developed during the centuries after Christ, such prayers (the Kaddish) had a regular place. This record is the account given in *II Macc.*, xii, 43-5, written by a Hellenistic Jew before 70 B. C.,² of a sacrifice arranged by Judas in behalf of those slain in battle; (43) : πάνυ καλῶς καὶ ἀστείως πράττων, ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως ἀναλογιζόμενος· (44) εἰ μὴ γὰρ τοὺς προπεπτωκότας ἀναστήναι προσεδόκα, περισσὸν καὶ ληρωδὲς ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν εὐχεσθαι· (45) εἴτε ἐμβλέπων τοῖς μετ' εὐσεβίας κοιμωμένοις κάλλιστον ἀποκείμενον εὐχαριστήριον, ὅσια καὶ εὐσεβῆς ἡ ἐπίνοια : *Vulgata* : (43) : *bene et religiose de resurrectione cogitans* (44) (*nisi enim eos qui ceciderant resurrecturos speraret, superfluum videretur et vanum orare pro mortuis*), (45) *et quia considerabat quod hi, qui cum pietate dormitionem acceperant, optimam haberent repositam gratiam*. The importance of this passage for us lies not only in the evidence it affords of the continuance among Greek-speaking Jews of the traditional expression, "those asleep," but more especially in the Latin translation of this term, *dormitionem acceperant*, the discussion of which, however, can be more conveniently introduced below in connection with other examples of the use of the noun *dormitio* in the sense of "death".

The same figurative use of words for sleep occurs, as one would expect, in the New Testament, especially in connection with the doctrine of the Resurrection there enunciated,

¹ On the Jewish belief in the Resurrection, cf. especially BOUSSET, *op. cit.*, 269-274; on the book of *Daniel*, *ibid.*, 11. The phrase ζωὴ αἰώνιος is characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic literature; cf. the examples quoted

by BOUSSET, 275.

² Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 445; CHRIST-SCHMID, *Gesch. d. Gr. Lit.*, Munich, 6th. ed., ii, 1, 1920, 567-8; BOUSSET, *op. cit.*, 31-32.

and the formulae of the Old Testament appear with hardly any change. Thus in the story told in the Synoptic Gospels of the "awakening" of the "sleeping" maiden, the version of MATTHEW, ix, 24, has: οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανε τὸ κοράσιον, ἀλλὰ καθεύδει: *Vulgata: non est enim mortua puella, sed dormit.* Cf. MARK, v, 39; LUKE, viii, 52. For the metaphorical use of κοιμῶμαι cf. Matth., xxvii, 52: πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθη: *Vulgata: multa corpora sanctorum qui dormierant surrexerunt.* An interesting example of the literal and metaphorical use of these words is furnished by JOHN'S account of the resurrection of Lazarus, xi, 11-13: Λάζαρος ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν κεκοίμηται· ἀλλὰ πορεύομαι ἵνα ἐξυπνίσω αὐτόν... εἰρήκει δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς περὶ τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἔδοξαν ὅτι περὶ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦ ὕπνου λέγει: *Vulgata: Iesus dixit eis: Lazarus amicus noster dormit; sed vado ut a somno excitem eum. Dixerat autem Iesus de morte eius; illi autem putaverunt quia de dormitione somni diceret.* The passage quoted above from *I Kings*, i, 21, is echoed in *Acts*, xiii, 36: Δαβὶδ... ἐκοιμήθη, καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ: *Vulgata: David dormivit et adpositus est ad patres suos.* We have the same use of this verb in *Acts*, vii, 60, in the account of the death of St. Stephen, τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐκοιμήθη. There are interesting variants, to which I shall return below, in the Latin versions of this sentence. The *Versio Antiqua*¹ reads, *hoc cum dixisset dormivit*; St. Jerome's, *cum hoc dixisset, obdormivit*; the *Vulgata Clementina*, *cum hoc dixisset, obdormivit in Domino.* The phraseology of the *Old Testament* is clearly noticeable in ST. PAUL'S discussion of death and the resurrection of the dead, although his arguments, as HARNACK has noted,² are not borrowed from this source but continue rather late Jewish apocalyptic tradition. The passages which concern us are the following: *I Cor.*, vii, 39: εἰ ἄνθρωπος κοιμηθῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ (cf. *Pap. Fay.*, above, p. 88): *Vulgata: quod si dormierit vir*; the *Versio Antiqua*, however, reads: *dormitionem acceperit* (cf. below, p. 98). *I Cor.* xv, 6: οἱ πλείους μένουσιν ἕως ἄρτι, τινὲς δὲ ἐκοιμήθησαν: *Vulgata: multi manent usque adhuc, quidam autem dormierunt*; xv, 18: ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ ἀπώλοντο: *Vulgata: ergo et qui dormierunt in Christo perierunt*; xv, 20: Χριστὸς... ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων: *Vulgata: Christus ... primitiae dormientium*; xv, 51: πάντες οὐ κοιμηθησόμεθα, πάντες δὲ ἀλλաγησόμεθα: *Vulgata: omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur*; here the reading *resurgemus* agrees with the Greek text of D, and is clearly an error.³ *I Thess.*, iv, 13-15: οὐ θέλομεν δὲ ὑμᾶς ἄγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, περὶ τῶν κοιμωμένων... εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀνέστη, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς κοιμηθέντας διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἄξει σὺν αὐτοῖς... ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες... οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας: *Vulgata: nolumus autem vos ignorare, fratres, de dormientibus. ... si enim credimus quod Iesus mortuus est et resurrexit, ita et Deus eos qui dormierunt per Iesum adducet cum eo. ... nos qui vivimus ... non praeveniemus eos qui dor-*

¹ Cf. SABATIER, *Biblorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, Paris, 1751, ii, 2, 616-617.

² Cf. HARNACK, "Das Alte Testament in den Paulinischen Briefen und in den Paulinischen Gemeinden," in *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*,

1928, 124-141.

³ Cf. G. SACCO, *La Koiné del Nuovo Testamento e la Trasmissione del Sacro Testo*, Rome, 1928, xxiv; cf. the discussion of this verse in ST. JEROME, *Ep.*, cxix, 1-6 (ed. HILBERG, *C. S. E. L.*, ii), Vienna, 1912, 446-454.

mierunt.¹ In *II Peter*, iii, 4: ἀφ' ἧς γὰρ οἱ πατέρες ἐκοιμήθησαν: *Vulgata: ex quo enim patres dormierunt*, we have an echo of the phrase which, as noted above (p. 90), occurs commonly in *Kings*.

That it was not the Old Testament alone, however, in which the writers of the New found these metaphorical expressions of the sleep of death, but that other late Jewish apocalyptic writings contained them is clear from the quotation which ST. PAUL employs in *Eph.*, v, 14: διὸ λέγει, Ἐγείραι, ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφάσει σοι ὁ Χριστός: *Vulgata: propter quod dicit, surge, qui dormis, et exsurge e mortuis et illuminabit te Christus*. This saying is not found in the Old Testament and must have come, therefore, from some prophetic writings that had been given Christian coloring.²

From the same or some similar apocryphal book must come also an interesting quotation which appears in JUSTIN MARTYR and IRENAEUS. In the former, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 72, 4, we read: καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰερεμίου ὁμοίως ταῦτα περιέκοψαν: ἐμνήσθη δὲ Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ [ἁγίος, OTTO, Jena, 1876] Ἰσραὴλ τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν κεκοιμημένων εἰς γῆν χώματος: for this last phrase, cf. *Dan.*, xii, 2, quoted above, p. 93. Similar words are likewise ascribed to Jeremiah in the Latin version of IRENAEUS, iv, 22, 1, MIGNE: *Recommemoratus est Dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum, qui praedormierunt in terra defossionis*. On the other hand in IRENAEUS, iii, 20, 4, they are put in the mouth of Isaiah, and the Greek in JUSTIN MARTYR is literally translated: *et commemoratus est Dominus sanctus Israel mortuorum suorum qui dormierant in terra sepultionis*. In iv, 33, 12, and v, 31, 1, practically the same words are repeated without the name of the Prophet. The quotation is not found in the Bible as we have it.

I may note also the use of κοιμῶμαι in *The Gospel of Peter*,³ 41, which was written in Syria during the second century: φωνῆς ἤκουον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν λεγούσης· “ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις;”

That it was the influence of the Hebrew conception of death as a sleep, whether working through the Bible or through later Jewish documents of an apocalyptic character, which led to the same metaphorical use of words for sleep by the early Fathers, both Greek and Latin, is proved, if indeed proof is needed, by the fact that the Fathers, in their discussion of death and the resurrection of the dead, invariably quote in support of their arguments the passages from the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament, which I have cited above. A few examples, which I have arranged chronologically, will serve to show what a large part these passages have in early Christian thought.

¹ In some of the MSS. of the Church Fathers who quote this passage there is confusion with the phrase in *I Cor.*, xv, 18; cf. CYPRIAN, *Test.*, iii, 58 (ed. HARTEL, *C.S.E.L.*, iii, i, Vienna, 1868, 159) and *de Mort.*, 21 (*ibid.*, i, 310), where we find *dormierunt in Iesu*. It may be noted also that the text of AMBROSIIUS, *Ep. I ad Thess.*, iv, 13, is printed in MIGNE, *P. L.*, xvii, 474, to read,

deus illos qui dormierunt, per Iesum adducet cum eo. On this punctuation, cf. SWETE, *Theodori Episcopi Mopsuesteni in Epistulas B. Pauli Commentarii*, ii, Cambridge, 1882, page 27, note on line 17 (Theodore has *per Iesum*).

² Cf. HARNACK, *op. cit.*, 138.

³ Ed. RAUSCHEN, *Florilegium Patristicum*, Bonn, 1914, fasc. iii, 53.

The earliest quotation occurs in the first letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written about 95-6.¹ This letter is really an official document sent from the Church in Rome to that in Corinth and in it Clement sets forth a Christianity which is, in striking contrast to St. Paul, the religion of the Old Testament.² It is possible that the author was a Hellenistic Jew; he was, at least, thoroughly familiar with the Old Testament, from which he makes over a hundred quotations; on the other hand there are only a few quotations from the Gospels and St. Paul. In 24-26, the Resurrection is briefly discussed; Christ is called ἡ ἀπαρχή, cf. ἀπαρχή in ST. PAUL, *I Cor.*, xv, 20, although the reference may not have been due to ST. PAUL, and Ps. iii, 6 is interpreted as evidence from sacred writings that the dead will rise again. None of our quotations occur in the letters of Barnabas and Polycarp, nor in the genuine letters of Ignatius written on his journey from Antioch to Rome. In the interpolated version, however, of the letter to the people of Tralles, which was compiled about the middle of the fourth century,³ the author, in ch. ix, quotes *Matth.*, xxvii, 52. JUSTIN MARTYR, who like Clement lived in Rome, where he suffered martyrdom about 165,⁴ in two passages, *Apol.*, i, xxxviii, 3, and *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 97, applies Ps., iii, 6, just as Clement had done, to the Resurrection of Christ. This passage is similarly applied by IRENAEUS, Bishop of Lyons about 177-8,⁵ in *adv. Haer.*, iv, 48, 2 and iv, 55, 4; of our New Testament passages he quotes ST. PAUL only, *I Cor.*, xv, 13-21, of which he makes a full citation in *adv. Haer.*, v, 13, 4. A few years later his spiritual follower, HIPPOLYTUS, Bishop of Rome in opposition to Callistus,⁶ wrote a most important commentary on the book of *Daniel*, and in his discussion of eschatological problems in his *de Antichristo*,⁷ 65-66, quotes *Dan.*, xii, 2 and ST. PAUL, *Eph.*, v, 14; *I Thess.*, iv, 13. CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, who was head of the Christian school in Alexandria shortly before 200,⁸ likewise quotes *Eph.*, v, 14 in his *Protr.*, ix, 84, 2. ORIGEN, head of the school shortly after Clement,⁹ whose great work was the textual edition of the Old Testament, the *Hexapla*, was perfectly familiar also with the New and in *adv. Cels.*, ii, 73 and v, 17 quotes ST. PAUL, *I Cor.*, xv, 3-8 and 51, and *I Thess.*, iv, 12-17. The bitter opponent of his views, METHODIUS, Bishop of Olympus in Lydia who died about 311,¹⁰ in his *de Resurr.*, i, 51, quotes *Dan.*, xii, 2. I may conclude this brief survey of the

¹ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 134-136; RAUSCHEN, *Flor. Patr.*, fasc. i, 5-6.

² Cf. HARNACK, quoted above, p. 94, n. 2; JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 135: "befinden wir uns in einer reichlich alttestamentlich durchsetzten Abhandlung."

³ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 143 and the special studies there cited; RAUSCHEN, *op. cit.*, i, 3. For the text of these Apostolic Fathers, cf. the edition by GEBHARDT and HARNACK, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1876; text and translation by K. LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Loeb Classical Library, 1913.

⁴ Cf. HARNACK, *Chron.*, i, 274-284; JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 39.

⁵ Cf. HARNACK, *Chron.*, i, 320-333; JORDAN, *op.*

cit., 40. For the text, cf. Harvey, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1857; for the citations from the New Testament, cf. SANDAY-TURNER, *Novum Testamentum S. Irenaei*, Oxford, 1923.

⁶ Cf. HARNACK, *Chron.*, 619-646; JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 46.

⁷ Ed. BONWETSCH-ACHELIS, Leipzig, 1897. For these works, cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 382-383, 316.

⁸ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 33, 40. For his works, cf. the edition by STÄHLIN, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1905-1909.

⁹ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 40; ed. by KRETSCHAU and RAUER, 9 vols., Leipzig, 1899-1930.

¹⁰ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 41. His works are edited by BONWETSCH, Leipzig, 1917.

early Fathers with a reference to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, (which were put together in Syria about 400 but which undoubtedly contain material which is earlier, ¹) v, 7, where a quotation of *Dan.*, xii, 2, is introduced by the words: *περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν μαρτύρων μισθαποδοσίας λέγει Γαβριήλ τῷ Δανιήλ*: the text of Daniel which follows agrees with the *Septuagint*, which, however, has *Μιχαήλ* as the speaker.

The Latin Fathers of the second and third centuries follow in the footsteps of their Greek predecessors, and the metaphorical use of *κοιμᾶσθαι* finds a parallel in that of *dormire*. It will suffice to note TERT., *de Carn. Res.*, 24 and 48, ² where he quotes ST. PAUL, *I Cor.*, xv, 12-19 and *I Thess.*, iv, 14-17, and *adv. Marc.*, v, 15, where the latter passage is again quoted. It is also used by CYPRIAN, ³ *Test.*, iii, 58, who in another passage, *op. cit.*, ii, 24, interprets *Ps.*, iii, 6, just as the Greek Fathers had done, as evidence for the Resurrection. This verse is similarly used by LACTANTIUS, *Div. Inst.*, iv, 19; (*cf.* ST. AUGUST., *Enarr. in Ps.*, iii, 5 (= verse 6)).

A striking contrast to these numerous examples of the metaphor of the sleep of death which came to the Fathers from their Hebrew sources is furnished by the paucity of quotations in the Fathers from profane writers who employed the figure. Perhaps the earliest of these quotations is that in ATHENAGORAS, who lived in Athens toward the end of the second century A. D. ⁴ In his *Suppl. pro Christ.*, xii, 2, he combines a reminiscence of PLATO'S *Apol.*, 40, C-D (quoted above, p. 81), with the phrase from HOMER, *Il.*, xvi, 672 (above, p. 82): οἱ . . . τὸν θάνατον βαθὸν ὕπνον καὶ λήθην τιθέμενοι (Ὕπνος καὶ θάνατος διδυμάονε) πιστεύονται θεοσεβεῖν. The same Homeric phrase is employed by METHODIUS, *de Resurr.*, i, 53. Then in the first book of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which as we have it is not earlier than the third century A. D., ⁵ we find a treatment of the theme of the ten ages of man which is made up largely of material taken from the book of *Enoch* and HESIOD'S *Op. et Dies*, 106-196; in vs. 71, HES. 116 is paraphrased: οὐ γὰρ ἀνίας | τειρόμενοι θνήσκον ἀλλ' ὥς δεδμημένοι ὕπνῳ: *cf.* 301: νόσφιν νούσων . . . | . . . θνήξονται (*sic*) ὕπνῳ βεβολημένοι; *cf.* HES., *Op.*, 113: νόσφιν ἄτερ τε πόνων, and HOM., *Il.*, xiv, 231 (above, p. 81). In the eighth book also, 312-315, there is a passage which, although it does not contain a direct quotation from Greek literature, presents a characteristic fusion ⁶ of Greek, Hebrew, and Christian thought and phraseology. The Resurrection of Christ is mentioned in these words: καὶ θανάτου μοῖραν τελέσει τρίτον ἡμᾶρ

¹ Cf. DUCHESNE, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, 4^{ème} éd., Paris, 1908, 56-57; RAUSCHEN, *Flor. Patr.*, vii, 141; LECLERCQ, in CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, iii, 2732-2748. Text edited by FUNK, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderb., 1906.

² Ed. KROYMANN, *C.S.E.L.*, xxxvii, part iii, Vienna, 1906, 59, 98f.

³ Ed. HARTEL, *C.S.E.L.*, iii, Pt. i, 37-184.

⁴ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 39, 220. Text by GEFFCKEN, *Zwei griech. Apologeten*, Leipzig, 1907, 120-152.

⁵ Cf. RZACH, in PAULY-WISSOWA, *R. E.*, s. v. *Sibyllinische Orakel*, 2. Reihe, ii, 2118-2169; and "Sibyllinische Weltalter", in *Wiener Studien*, xxxiv, 1912, 114-122; BOUSSET, *op. cit.*, 38. Text by GEFFCKEN, Leipzig, 1902.

⁶ There is a difference of opinion whether bk. viii of the *Oracula* depends on Jewish documents current in apologetic circles or on Christian; *cf.* JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 478-9. The date of this book is certainly not later than the third century.

ὕπνώσας· | καὶ τότε' ἀπὸ φθιμένων ἀναλύσας εἰς φάος ἤξει | πρῶτος ἀναστάσεως κλητοῖς ἀρχὴν ὑποδείξας. This passage is quoted by LACTANTIUS, *Div. Inst.*, iv, 19, where ST. AUGUSTINE found it, and it is interesting to compare his translation in *de Civ. Dei*, xviii, 23: *et morte morietur tribus diebus somno suscepto: et tunc ab inferis regressus ad lucem veniet primus resurrectionis principio revocatis ostenso.*¹

In the same way the Latin Fathers and Christian poets took similar phrases from VERGIL and HORACE; cf. ST. AUGUST., *de Nat. et Orig. An.*, iv, 28:² *nec enim frustra eos qui mortui sunt appellat Sancta Scriptura dormientes, nisi quia est quodammodo consanguineus leti sopor* (= VERG., *Aen.*, vi, 278); PRUDENT., *Cath.*, x, 53-6: *quidnam sibi saxa cavata, / quid pulchra volunt monumenta, / nisi quod res creditur illis / non mortua sed data somno?* And the poet adds (57-60): *hoc provida Christicolarum / pietas studet utpote credens / fore protinus omnia viva, / quae nunc gelidus sopor urget;* cf. HOR., *Od.*, i, 24, 5. Horace seems to have been in the mind of ST. AMBROSE also when, *Expl. Ps.*, xxxvi, 66, discussing the meaning of the phrase, *sedens in domo*, he refers it to the need of unfailing prayer and draws the moral, *loquere, o homo, dormitans, ne tibi somnus mortis obrepat;* cf. HOR., *Od.*, iii, 11, 38. There may be an echo of CICERO, *Tusc.*, i, 92 (above, p. 82) in TERT., *de An.*, 43: *somnum ... inde deducimur etiam imaginem mortis iam tunc eum recensere. Si enim Adam de Christo figuram dabat, somnus Adae mors erat Christi dormituri in mortem.*

A marked difference is noticeable between the vocabulary of these passages quoted from pagan writers and that of the passages drawn from the Bible or other Hebrew texts. Although Homer and Sophocles (cf. above, pp. 81, 82) had employed κοιμᾶσθαι in the figurative sense of "to die", it was not until Callimachus and the writers of the later Hellenistic literary epitaphs that this word came to be commonly so used. It is, however, the word employed to translate the Hebrew verb šākhābh, which occurs, as I noted above (p. 90), in most of the Biblical passages referring to the sleep of death. The verb yāšēn, on the other hand, is generally translated by ὑπνώω. The first Christians, therefore, influenced by such usage and perhaps with a conscious reference to the idea of the Resurrection, were led to apply the word κοιμῶμαι, less frequently ὑπνώω, independently.

We find κοιμῶμαι employed in a way which recalls *I Cor.*, vii, 39 and the Fayûm papyrus quoted above (p. 88) in CLEM. ROM., *I Ep. ad Cor.*, xlv, 2, where, in his discussion of the arrangements made by the Apostles for the appointment of their successors, he says: ἐπινομήν δεδοκάσιν, ὅπως, ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.

¹ The expression here of the hope of a future life is strikingly similar, although the sleep of death is not mentioned, to that in a Jewish inscription of the second century, written in Latin hexameters; cf. DIEHL, *Inscr. Chr.*, 4933; MÜLLER-BEES, *op. cit.*, no. 145. DEISSMANN remarks in his note on this inscription: "We have here a text of the second century which reflects in Latin form

a not unimportant part of the religious vocabulary of the Jews. Both St. Paul and this inscription are, in the expression of their hope of a future life, influenced by the best spirits of the Pharisees who carried on their propaganda beyond the mother-land."

² Ed. HOFFMANN, *C.S.E.L.*, vol. lx, (= AUG., viii, 1), Vienna, 1913, 408.

Then IGNATIUS,¹ writing under Trajan, in his *Ep. ad Rom.*, iv, 2, makes the following reference to his martyrdom: μάλλον κολακεύσατε τὰ θηρία, ἵνα μοι τάφος γένωνται καὶ μηδὲν καταλίπωσι τῶν τοῦ σώματός μου, ἵνα μὴ κοιμηθεῖς βαρὺς τινι γένωμαι. A few decades later, about 180,² the Greek freedman HERMAS wrote in Rome his famous apocalypse in which he shows himself more familiar with later Jewish traditions, — for he cites an obscure Jewish apocryphal book in *Vis.* ii, 3, 4, — and with popular types of Hellenistic Greek literature than with the Old Testament. He has little kinship with St. Paul, and yet he speaks of “those asleep” in language very similar to St. Paul’s; cf. *Vis.* iii, 5, 1: καὶ ἐπισκοπήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες καὶ διακονήσαντες . . . οἱ μὲν κεκοιμημένοι, οἱ δὲ ἔτι ὄντες (cf. *I Cor.*, xv, 6); *Mand.* iv, 4, 1: ἐὰν γυνή, φημί, κύριε, ἢ πάλιν ἀνὴρ τις κοιμηθῇ, especially *Sim.* ix, 16, 3-7, where, in a discussion of the Resurrection, the participles κεκοιμημένοι, κοιμηθέντες are used of the dead just as they had been in the *Septuagint* and in ST. PAUL. Noteworthy are the phrases, (5) κοιμηθέντες ἐν δυνάμει καὶ πίστει τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, (6) οἱ προκεκοιμημένοι νεκροὶ κατέβησαν, ζῶντες δὲ ἀνέβησαν, (7) ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ γὰρ ἐκοιμήθησαν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ ἀγνείᾳ, which show a kinship with the later liturgies; with the last phrase, cf. *II Macc.*, xii, 45 (above, p. 93). In writers after the second century this use of these forms is common; cf. ATHENAGORAS, *Suppl. p. Christ.*, 17, 2; METHOD., *de Resurr.*, iii, 17; ST. BASIL, *Ep.*, v; CYRILLUS, *Cat. Myst.*, v, 9. An interesting illustration of the continuance of the Hebrew formula, “he slept with his fathers,” is found in *Apost. Cons.*, ii, 22, 18: Μανασσῆς . . . ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ. Note also the reference to the *Aion* in v, 7, 1: θεὸς διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . ἀναστήσει ἡμᾶς σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀπ’ αἰῶνος κοιμηθεῖσιν. In another passage we may have a reminiscence of *Matth.*, xxiv, 30: vii, 32, 8: ἀναβίωσις τῶν κεκοιμημένων.

On the other hand the use of the noun κοίμησις in its metaphorical sense, which is found first, as far as I have noticed, in the Greek translation of *Sirach* (above, p. 92), is rare in early Christian writings. The earliest examples occur in “The Shepherd” of HERMAS. Whether the word was suggested to him by his reading of *Sirach*, a book well known to him as to Christian writers generally, or whether it was in common use in less cultivated Jewish-Christian circles it is impossible to say. This possibility is suggested by the appearance of the word in the curse-tablet of the third century from Carthage (cf. above, p. 85); in any case the ultimate Hebrew origin of the metaphor is beyond doubt; cf. *Vis.* iii, 11: ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, μηκέτι ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα τοῦ ἀνανεῶσαι, οὐδὲν ἄλλο προσδοκῶσιν εἰ μὴ τὴν κοίμησιν αὐτῶν, *Sim.* ix, 15, 6: παρέμειναν τὰ πνεύματα αὐτοῖς μέχρι τῆς κοιμήσεως αὐτῶν. The appearance of the word in a prayer for the dead among the prayers which the compiler of

¹ Cf. LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers*, N. Y., 1890, pt. ii, vol. iii, 127-306; JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 136-7; text in RAUSCHEN, *Flor. Patr.*, fasc. i, 30-39.

² Cf. HARNACK, *Chron.*, i, 257-269; BIGG, *Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, 72-84; JORDAN, *op. cit.*,

181-184; W. J. WILSON, *The Career of the Prophet Hermas*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, xx, 1927, 21-62. For text and translation, cf. K. LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*, Loeb Classical Library, 1913, ii, 1-305.

the *Apostolic Constitutions* collected in his eighth book may represent earlier usage ;¹ viii, 41, 2 : ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναπαυσαμένων ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦδε ἡ τῆσδε δεηθῶμεν. This metaphorical use of the word is suggested also by METHODIUS, *Symp. decem Virg.*, vi, 4, where he interprets allegorically the parable of the ten virgins as narrated in *Matth.*, xxv, 1-13. On vs. 5, χρονίζοντος δὲ τοῦ νυμφίου ἐνύσταξαν πᾶσαι καὶ ἐκάθειδον, he remarks that the delay of the bridegroom signifies the interval which precedes the coming of Christ, and the "slumbering and sleeping" ὁ νυσταγμός καὶ ἡ κοίμησις of the maidens signify the departure from life. That the word came to be used, moreover, with a conscious reference to the Resurrection is clear from the comment made by THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA on ST. PAUL, *I Thess.*, iv, 14 : προσεχτέον δὲ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ ἀπέθανεν εἶπεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν τοὺς κοιμηθέντας· ὡς ἐκεῖ μὲν θανάτου ὄντος διὰ τὸ μηδέπω λελύσθαι· ἐνταῦθα δὲ κοιμήσεως, διὰ τὸ ἤδη λελύσθαι. This same distinction is made also by his friend, JOHN CHRYSOTOM, in two passages in his *de Coemeterio* (MIGNE, *P. G.*, xlix, 383-4) : ἐπεὶ οὖν σήμερον Ἰησοῦς πρὸς τοὺς νεκροὺς κατέβη, διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα συλλεγόμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ τόπος κοιμητήριον ὠνόμασται, ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι οἱ τετελευτηκότες καὶ ἐνταῦθα κείμενοι οὐ τεθνήκασιν, ἀλλὰ κοιμῶνται καὶ καθεύδουσι, and he quotes in illustration *Job*, iii, 23 and xvii, 16. The second passage runs : ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθεν ὁ Χριστὸς . . . οὐκέτι θάνατος καλεῖται λοιπὸν ὁ θάνατος, ἀλλὰ ὕπνος καὶ κοίμησις, and he supports this statement by quoting JOHN, xi, 4-12 ; *I Cor.*, xv, 18 ; *I Thess.*, iv, 14 ; *Eph.*, v, 12 ; cf. the epitaph in KAIBEL, *Ep. Gr.* 559 (above, p. 84). The same thought is expressed in Latin by his contemporary ST. JEROME in language that might well be a translation of the Greek, although doubtless both writers were inspired by the passage in JOHN, xi : *Ep.*, lxxv, 1, 3, *neque enim mors, sed dormitio et somnus appellatur*.

The use of the verb *dormire* (*dormientes*), corresponding to that of κοιμᾶσθαι, is rare in the early Latin Fathers except in quotations from such Biblical passages as I have given above. We find it, however, in an interesting passage in TERT., *de An.*, 51, although even here the metaphorical application of *Ps.*, iv, 9 (above, p. 91) may have been in his mind : *scio feminam quandam . . . functam post unicum et breve matrimonium cum in pace dormuisset et . . . oratione presbyteri componeretur, ad primum habitum orationis manus a lateribus dimotas in habitum supplicem conformasse*. In the same way the phrase quoted above (p. 98) from *de An.*, 43, *somnus Adae mors erat Christi dormituri in mortem*, may be an echo of *Ps.*, xii, (xiii), 4, *obdormiam in morte* (cf. above, p. 93). Later the independent use of the verb becomes more common ; cf. JEROME, *Ep.*, cviii, 34, of the death of Paula, *dormivit sancta et beata Paula* (but cf. *Acts*, vii, 60 of St. Stephen), and for the relation of this use to the doctrine of the Resurrection,² ID., *Expos. in Ep. I. ad Thess.*, iv : *dormit enim, quem certum est resurrecturum* ; ST. AUGUST., *Enarr. in Ps.*, lxxxvii, 6 : *ideo namque mortuos consuevit Scriptura*

¹ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 353.

² Cf. the remarks of BOLDETTI, *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri de' santi martiri ed antichi cristiani di Roma*,

Rome, 1720, 393, and of DE ROSSI, in *Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1877, 35.

dicere dormientes, quia evigilatueros; PAULINUS NOL., *Ep.*, xiii, 9, a *consolatio*, in which he remarks, referring to ST. PAUL, *I Cor.*, xv, 18: *in Christo mortuos dormire Apostolus dicit, ut de somno intelligas temporalem esse mortem. Dormienti enim consequens est excitari et surgere.*

More common, however, than the independent use of the verb *dormire* in its figurative sense is that of the noun *dormitio* which Tertullian employs as though its meaning of "death" had become well established by his time; ¹ cf. *de Pat.*, ix: *Praeponeendus est enim respectus denuntiationis Apostoli, qui ait: Ne contristemini dormitione cuiusquam* (referring to *I Thess.*, iv, 13). He makes the same reference in a comment on *I Thess.*, iii, 13, ² in *de Carn. Resurr.*, 24: *de quorum dormitione minus maerenda docens simul et tempora resurrectionis exponit, dicens, Si enim credimus quod Iesus mortuus sit et resurrexerit, sic et deus eos qui dormierunt per Iesum adducet cum ipso.* The word is used in a more general way in *de An.*, 55, *sed in aethere dormitio nostra cum puerariis Platonis*, and in *de Monog.*, 10, *enim vero et pro anima eius orat, et refrigerium interim adpostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis eius.* Thereafter this use of the word becomes common, especially in the African Fathers; cf. ST. CYPR., *Ep.*, i, 2, *si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo nec sacrificium pro dormitione eius celebraretur . . . non est quod pro dormitione eius apud vos fiat oblatio . . .*; ST. AUGUST., *Conf.*, ix, 9, 22, *qui ante dormitionem eius in te iam consociati*; cf., finally, his remark in *Enarr. in Ps.*, iii, 5 (= verse 6) (quoted above, pp. 90, 91), which he interprets allegorically, *somnum autem pro morte positum innumerabiliter Scripturae continent, sicut Apostolus dicit: Nolo vos ignorare, fratres, de iis qui dormitionem acceperunt*, referring, as Tertullian had done, to *I Thess.*, iv, 13; and then, discussing the apparent tautology, *dormivi et somnum cepi*, he says, *dormitio morientis, somnus autem mortui accipi potest, ut dormitio sit qua transitur ad somnum, veluti est expergefatio qua transitur ad vigilationem.* ST. JEROME uses the word frequently, especially in his letters; cf. the two addressed to ST. AUGUSTINE, ³ *Ep.*, lxxv, 2, 3, *epitaphium . . . quod quidem in dormitione sanctae memoriae Nepotiani . . . olim fecisse me novi*; ccii, ⁴ 2, *sciatis me . . . dormitione sanctae . . . Eustochiae ita doluisse*; cf. also *Ep.*, ⁵ lxxv, 1, 1: *consternatus super . . . dormitione Lucini*; note especially *Ep.*, lxvi (HILBERG, i, 651), which in the MSS. has the heading, *ad Pammachium de dormitione Paulinae*, where in 4 we read: *post dormitionem somnumque Paulinae*; finally *Ep.*, cviii, 21, 4 (HILBERG, ii, 447), in his rhetorical eulogy of Paula: *nam et in viri et filiorum dormitione semper periclitata est.* The word is similarly used by PS.-CYPR., ⁶ *Ep.*, iv: *animum tuum dolore commotum de filiae dormitione cognovi.*

The use of this word *dormitio* furnishes in itself an interesting problem. The word

¹ His works in which this use appears do not date before 200; cf. HARNACK, *Chron.*, ii, 2, 256-292.

² *Coram Deo et patre nostro in adventu domini nostri Iesu Christi cum universis sanctis eius.*

³ In ST. AUG., *Ep.*, ed. GOLDBACHER, C.S.E.L., xxxiii, part i, Vienna, 1895, 285.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, xxxiii, part iii, 1904, 300.

⁵ Ed. HILBERG, C.S.E.L., xxxiii, ii, 1898, 29; from this letter, i, 3, comes the quotation cited above (p. 100).

⁶ Ed. HARTEL, C.S.E.L., iii, pt. iii, 1871, 274, 22. On the question of authorship, cf. HARNACK, *Chron.*, ii, 2, 369.

belonged to the informal speech,¹ but there is no evidence that it was ever used in the metaphorical sense of "death" until it appears in Christian and Jewish inscriptions, the date of which is not entirely certain (cf. above, p. 88), and in Latin translations of Hebrew and Greek religious writings, corresponding to the Greek κοιμήσεις. It is not used, however, to translate κοιμήσεις in the one book in the *Septuagint* in which this noun appears, *Sirach*, xlvi, 19 and xlviii, 13 (cf. above, p. 92). On the other hand, in the only passage in the *Vulgata* of the Old Testament in which *dormitio* is used, *II Macc.*, xii, 45, the phrase, *qui . . . dormitionem acceperant*, serves to translate the Greek phrase, τοῖς . . . κοιμωμένοις (above, p. 93). This translation was pre-Jerome and may have been current in Africa before Tertullian, although from the reference which he makes in *adv. Iud.*, 4 to *I Macc.*, it is not possible to decide whether he was using a Latin or a Greek version of these books. In the New Testament this same phrase, *dormitionem accipere*, is found in pre-Jerome versions of *I Cor.*, vii, 39, which were current in Africa certainly as early as 180,² as preserved in Codd. Sangermanensis and Claromontanus,³ where the reading is, *quod si dormitionem vir eius acceperit*. It would seem also, to judge from the passages which I have given above (p. 101) from Tertullian and St. Augustine, in which Tertullian used the noun *dormitio*, St. Augustine the phrase *dormitionem accipere*, in their quotations of *I Thess.*, iv, 13, that there were Latin versions of this letter which had the noun here and not the verb *dormire* as in the *Vulgata*. They may, however, have been simply paraphrasing, since in other passages they quote the verse with the verb and have other variants as well.⁴ This would seem to be the case with JEROME in *Ep.*, cxix (HILBERG, ii, 446-469), a letter in which he discusses St. Paul's arguments concerning death and the Resurrection in *I Cor.*, xv and *I Thess.*, iv. He does not happen to quote vs. 13 directly but remarks with reference to it, 7, 6 (H., p. 456): *melius est igitur spiritaliter sentire, quod scriptum est, et dormitionem in praesenti loco non mortem accipere, per quam anima a corpore separatur, sed peccatum post fidem et offensam dei dormitionemque post baptismum, de qua ad Corinthos (I Cor., xi, 30) loquebatur, Ideo inter vos multi infirmi sunt et dormiunt plurimi*; the whole passage is important.

If St. Augustine did not find his *dormitionem accipere* in a Latin version of *I Thess.*, iv, 13, the phrase may have come to his mind from a Latin version of *II Macc.*, xii, 45, his familiarity with which is shown by his use of vss. 39-46, without, however, quoting this

¹ Cf. E. T. COOPER, *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, N. Y., 1895, 6. It is used of literal sleep in VARRO, *Sat. Men.*, 588 (ap. PETRONIUS, ed. BÜCHELER); ARNOBIUS, *Adv. Nat.*, v, 9; cf. ST JOHN, xi, 11-13, above, p. 94; figuratively, in VARRO, *Sat. Men.*, 485; for later usage, cf. DU CANGE, s. v. *dormitio*.

² Cf. MONCEAUX, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, i, Paris, 1901, 97-173; HARNACK, *Chron.*, ii, 296-302; SCHANZ, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.*, iii, 3te Aufl., by C. HOSIUS and G. KRÜGER, Munich, 1922, 437-458.

³ Cf. SABATIER, *op. cit.*, iii, 2, 684; RÖNSCH, *Italia u.*

Vulgata, Marburg, 1875, 73. Quotations of this verse in Tert., Cypr., Ambrose, August., have either *mortuus sit* or *dormierit* as in the *Vulgata*. For Tertullian, cf. RÖNSCH, *Das Neue Testament Tertullians*, Leipzig, 1871, 382-4.

⁴ Cf. TERT., *de Resurr. Carn.*, 24; AUGUST., *de Civ. Dei*, xx, 20; so CYPRIAN., *Test*, iii, 58; *de Mort.*, 21; AMBROS., *Ep. i ad Thess.*, iv, 13. There are other examples in Tert. and August. of different versions of the same citation; cf. MONCEAUX, *op. cit.*, i, 118; 146-149.

particular phrase, in his *de Nat. et Orig. An.*, ii, 11, 15, to illustrate the practice of offering prayers for the dead. We may suppose on the other hand that Tertullian introduced the noun *dormitio* independently, to translate the Greek *κοίμησις* in its metaphorical sense; but the very rarity of this use of the Greek word is against this supposition, even though we may not believe that our only surviving examples, in Sirach and Pastor Hermas, stood alone. It is equally possible, however, that Tertullian may have adopted the word from the Latin translation of Pastor Hermas which was made in Rome before 190¹ and went from Rome to Africa. That Tertullian was familiar with this translation is shown by the references he makes to the book in *de Orat.*, 16 and *de Pudic.*, 10 and 20. In both recensions of the Latin text we find *dormitio* employed to translate *κοίμησις* in *Vis.* iii, 11 (for the Greek cf. above, p. 99), *sicut enim seniores, qui non habent spem renovandi et nihil aliud expectant nisi dormitionem suam*. In the other passage where *κοίμησις* appears, *Sim.* ix, 15, 6, it is translated by *quies*.

A third passage in this Latin version of "The Shepherd" raises a question of the relationship between the date of this work and that of the pre-Jerome version of *I Cor.*, vii, 39, which I have not seen discussed and which one who is not a student of Biblical literature has no right to discuss. I must content myself with noting that, in *Mand.* iv., 4, 1, where the Greek, which I have quoted above, p. 99, ἐὰν γυνή . . . ἡ πάλιν ἀνὴρ τις κοιμηθῇ, certainly seems to be a quotation of the Greek of *I Cor.*, 39: one recension² of the Latin has *si vir vel mulier alicuius decesserit*, whereas the other employs the phrase *dormitionem accipere*³ which occurs in the *Vulgata* of *II Macc.*, xii, 45 and in the pre-Jerome version of *I Cor.*, vii, 39. Whether or not we grant priority to the old Latin version of the two Biblical passages, it is clear that the use of *dormitio* and of the phrase *dormitionem accipere* is contemporaneous with the very beginning of Latin Christianity, and can be placed, therefore, in the second half of the second century, at least as early as 180.

That the word *dormitio* at least was current even earlier than this in Latin-Jewish circles seems to be implied by its appearance in the *Assumptio* or *Testamentum Mosis*, a Hebrew apocryphal book of which we have only the Latin translation. The original may have been written as early as the middle of the first century, but the date of the translation is uncertain.⁴ In ch. 1,15 and 10,14 we find a phrase which recalls the traditional Hebrew formula frequent in *Kings* and *Chronicles* (cf. above, p. 90): *consummatum est tempus annorum*

¹ Cf. HARNACK, *Chron.*, ii, 305; 312-313; JORDAN, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.*, 436; NESTLE, *Urtext u. Uebersetzung der Bibel*, p. 33; MONCEAUX, *op. cit.*, i, 110. Text in DRESSSEL, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera*, Leipzig, 1857, 408-571; for the Palatine recension, cf. the text by GEBHARDT and HARNACK, Leipzig, 1877; cf. SCHANZ, *op. cit.*, iii, 455.

² Cf. the preceding note.

³ This use of a noun plus a verb such as *accipere* is

characteristic of informal Latin; cf. STOLZ-SCHMALZ, *Lat. Gram.*, 5te Aufl., Munich, 1926, 790.

⁴ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 174; PUECH, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, Paris, 1928, ii, 657. There seems to have been a Greek text, but we do not know whether the Latin version was made from that or directly from the Hebrew. I cite from the edition by CLEMEN, in LIETZMANN's *Kleine Texte f. Theologische Vorlesungen u. Uebungen*, vol. x, Bonn, 1904; cf. BOUSSET, *op. cit.*, 21-2.

vitae meae et transio in dormitionem patrum meorum, and *ego autem ad dormitionem patrum meorum eam*. Cf. the use of the word "sleep" in the Coptic version of the life of the Virgin, ed. and tr. by ROBINSON, in *Texts and Studies*, iv, Cambridge, 1896, 2, pp. 36, 40.

We may conclude, therefore, that through the channels of Greek and Latin translations of Hebrew writings, whether of apocryphal books or of the canonical Scriptures, the Hebrew metaphor of the sleep of death, especially the expression of it by the noun *mīškābh* and the verb *šākhābh*, came to the Greeks and Latins and led to a corresponding use of the words, κοιμῶμαι, κοιμησις, *dormire*, *dormitio*. It may be going too far to attribute to the same influence the use of καθεύδω, ύπνύω, ύπνος, which we find in Hellenistic literary epitaphs, since the learned poets who wrote them may have been consciously reviving the earlier usage of Homer and the tragedy, but, if this is so, it is curious that the revival should have taken place at the same time and same place as the translation of the Old Testament. We are at least on firm ground in applying the conclusion just stated to the Christian use of the metaphor.

With regard to the way in which this latter use came about, however, it is tempting to be more specific and to suggest that the first Christians took over our figure not from the written word, which most of them could not read, but from Hebrew ritual in connection with the burial of the dead in which, if we may accept as evidence the isolated example of *II Macc.*, xii, 45, the traditional use of the word "sleep" was continued. The first Christians, in adopting¹ the ritual of the Hebrews, must have taken over, as they did in the case of the Bible, the figurative phraseology in which this ritual was expressed. The singing of psalms,² among them those in which this phraseology occurs, is referred to in the earliest Christian literature (cf. *Apost. Const.*, ii, 57; v, 6, 19), and doubtless is an inheritance from Jewish practice. So, too, prayers for the dead must have had a place in the earliest worship of the Church, representing again, as the Fathers themselves recognized,³ a continuation of the same tradition. In our earliest references to such prayers, in IGNATIUS, *Ep. ad Rom.*, 4, 2, written in the early part of the second century, and in *Martyr. S. Polycarpi*,

¹ Cf. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétienne*, 4th ed., Paris, 1908, 47; JUSTER, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1914, i, 304-325; CABROL, in *Dict. d'Archéol. chrét.*, i, 1911, s. v. *Anaphore*. According to O. E. OESTERLY, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, Oxford, 1925, 60, the benedictions known as the Shemoneh 'Esreh, which in his opinion certainly represent pre-Christian liturgy, refer to the dead as those "who sleep in the dust." A contrary view is expressed by LÉVI, "La Commémoration des Ames dans le Judaïsme," *Rev. d. Études Juives*, xxix, 1894, 43-60, who states that prayers for the dead do not attach to any text or to any practice anterior to the tenth century.

² Cf. WAGNER, "Ueber Psalmen u. Psalmengesang im christl. Altertum," in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, xii, 1898, 245-

279; THALHOFER and EISENHOFER, *Handb. d. Katholischen Liturgik*, i, 259; DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 215; CABROL, *Le Livre de la Prière Antique*, Tours, 1929, 458.

³ Cf. AUGUST., *de Nat. et Orig. An.*, ii, 11, 15, quoted above, pp. 102, 103. SWAINSON, *The Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge, 1884, xxxix, gives some examples of the effect upon Greek liturgy of Jewish rites, but he does not include any reference to prayers for the dead. Nor does MICHEL, "Gebet u. Bild in frühchristlicher Zeit," in *Studien über christliche Denkmäler*, hrsgn. von J. FICKER, Leipzig, 1902, Erstes Heft, 42-48, where he discusses the relation between Hebrew prayers to God as the Savior and similar prayers in Christian and Orphic ritual. For the references to these prayers for the dead in the Church Fathers, cf. CABROL, *op. cit.*, iv, 1051-2, s. v. *Diptyques*.

18, 3, written not long after the Saint's death in 156,¹ words for sleep are not applied to the dead; but the word *dormitio* is so applied by TERT., *de Monog.*, 10, quoted above, p. 101: *offert annuis diebus dormitionis eius*. He refers again to this annual observance in *de Cor. Mil.*, 3, *oblaciones pro defunctis, pro nataliciis annua die facimus*; cf. ARNOB., *ad Nat.*, iii, 36; for prayers in connection with the burial, cf. *de An.*, 51, quoted above, p. 100. Although we may not conclude² from these words of Tertullian that such prayers for the dead had become by this time a fixed part of Church liturgy, under the rubric *oblatio* (or *sacrificium dormitionis*), that they had become so a half century later is clear from the fact that CYPRIAN employs the phrase in an official letter to his priests and deacons, *Ep.*, i, 2. Here he refers to the regulations adopted by his predecessors, *ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret, ac si quis hoc fecisset non offerretur pro eo nec sacrificium pro dormitione eius celebraretur*, and concludes: *ideo Victor cum contra formam... ausus sit tutelam constituere, non est quod pro dormitione eius apud vos fiat oblatio aut deprecatio aliqua nomine eius in ecclesia frequentetur...*

In our earliest collections also of the liturgies of the Greek and Latin Church these prayers for the dead have a place and, although none of the collections as we have them antedates the earliest of the Fathers whom I have quoted, some of the material in them is doubtless earlier. Here death is a sleep, the dead are those who have fallen asleep, and the phraseology is that of the Fathers and of the Bible from which it ultimately derived.³ We find this phraseology first in the *Anaphora Serapionis*, which dates from the middle of the fourth century and gives the earliest form of the ritual in use in the Church in Egypt.⁴ Here the prayer reads, iv, 17: παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων ὧν ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ ἀνάμνησις, and then, after the reading of the names (the diptycha), ἀγιάσον πάσας τὰς (ψυχὰς) ἐν Κυρίῳ κοιμηθείσας... καὶ ὁς αὐτοῖς τόπον καὶ μονὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου. The last words are clearly an echo of *John*, iii, 5, but the phrase τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν Κυρίῳ κοιμηθείσας does not occur, it will be noticed, in our printed texts of the Bible. It may have been suggested by *I Cor.*, xv, 18, with the substitution of Κόριος for Χριστός, or it may represent a figurative re-working of ST. PAUL, *ad Rom.*, xiv, 8, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκωμεν, or of *Rev.*, xiv, 13, μακάριοι οἱ νεκροὶ οἱ ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκοντες. It is not improbable, however, that the phrase came directly from some Greek version of

¹ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 85; RAUSCHEN, *Florilegium Patr.*, Bonn, 1914, Fasc. i, 3-4.

² This conclusion is drawn by DE ROSSI, *Roma Sott.*, i, 83 and iii, 495-507 and by ARMELLINI, *Gli antichi cimiteri cristiani*, Rome, 1893, 13.

³ On the liturgies in general and for detailed bibliography, cf. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 46-162; H. LECLERCQ, in CABROL, *Dict. d'Archéol. chrét.*, vi, 473-593; ix, 1636-1729; 1882-1891. For the Greek texts, cf. SWAINSON, *op. cit.*; F. E. BRIGHTMAN, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, vol. i, *Eastern Liturgies*, Oxford, 1896; JORDAN, *op. cit.*,

359-365; G. RIETSCHEL, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1900, 1909, i, 231-395; L. EISENHOFER, *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1932, 57-126.

⁴ For the text, cf. FUNK, *op. cit.*, ii, 158-195; RAUSCHEN, *Flor. Patr.*, fasc. vii, 25-32, and in general, A. BAUMSTARK, « Die Anaphora von Thmuis », in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, xviii, 1904, 123-142; JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 362; DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 75-79; text and commentary by BRIGHTMAN, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, i, 1900, 88-113; 247-277.

Acts, vii, 60 where one MS.¹ reads, ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Κυρίῳ. Similar language, but not this especial phrase, is used in the later liturgies which give the practice of the Church in Alexandria; ² cf. *Liturgy of St. Mark* (SWAINSON, 40): τῶν ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ προκεκοιμημένων πατέρων τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, Κύριε: cf. the Coptic liturgy of ST. CYRIL.³ The liturgy of the Church of Antioch and Syria, as preserved for us in the eighth book of *The Apostolic Constitutions*,⁴ contains reminiscences of liturgical practice that may go back to the third century, certainly to the fourth. In the liturgical portions proper of the book, viii, 5-15, we find our figure in 12, 20, in the prayer praising the goodness of God, and his kindness to the first man, χρόνῳ δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγον κοιμίσας ὄρα εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ἐκάλεσας. In the prayer for the living and dead, however, which follows the consecration, 13, 6, the verb κοιμῶμαι is not used but the phrase τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων. Later on in the book, among a collection of general prayers,⁵ is one which contains an interesting variation of the usual formula, viii, 41, 2: ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναπαυσαμένων ἐν Χριστῷ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοιμήσεως τοῦδε ἢ τῆσδε δεηθῶμεν. This noun κοίμησις does not occur in any other version of the Eastern Liturgy although forms of the verb occur regularly; cf. ST. CYRIL, *Cat. Myst.*,⁶ v, 9: εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων..., καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων, μεγίστην ὄνησιν πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται. The formulae are more developed in the later liturgies; cf. that of ST. JAMES (SWAINSON, 298): μνήσθητι, Κύριε, πάντων τῶν ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ προκεκοιμημένων: μνήσθητι, Κύριε, πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτούς: so also in the liturgies of St. Basil and of St. Chrysostom (SWAINSON, 83, 92),⁷ which represent the practice of the churches in Caesarea and Constantinople during the sixth century. Traces of Hebrew influence are still apparent in the use of the words ζωῆς αἰωνίου, which are reminiscent of *Sirach*, xlvi, 19 and *Dan.*, xii, 2 (cf. above, pp. 92, 93).

The relation between these Oriental liturgies and the liturgies of the churches of the West and the relation between the different versions of the latter as they are preserved for us in manuscripts of the seventh century and later, is a large problem⁸ which does not

¹ Cf. SABATIER, *op. cit.*, iii, 525; his remark is that "one MS. adds ἐν εἰρήνῃ to ἐκοιμήθη, another ἐν Κυρίῳ, as in the Vulgate." I have been unable, however, to find any record of this MS. and there is no mention of this reading in the critical commentary of H. F. VON SODEN, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1913, ii, 519. He notes the presence of ἐν εἰρήνῃ in some MSS. of his I Group and cites (i, 4, 1711) this addition as due to a reminiscence of *Ps.*, iv, 9. There are no evidences of the variant in any of the citations of the *Acts* in writers before 300; cf. *ibid.*, i, 4, 1836-1840.

² Cf. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 80-85; RIETSCHEL, *op. cit.*, i, 276.

³ Cf. the Latin translation by RENAUDOT, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Paris, 1716, 41.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 97, and for a discussion of the work, LECLERCQ, in CABROL, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, iii, 2748-2795; RAUSCHEN, *Flor. Patr.*, fasc. vii, 141-2; RIETSCHEL, *op. cit.*, i, 277-289; for text, cf. FUNK, *op. cit.*

⁵ Cf. JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 353.

⁶ Ed. RAUSCHEN, *Flor. Patr.*, fasc. vii, 32-78; cf. BRIGHTMAN, *op. cit.*, 464.

⁷ On these cf. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 71-73.

⁸ For convenient discussion, cf. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 86-163 and the articles by LECLERCQ, in CABROL, *Dict. d'Arch. chrét.*, cited above; RIETSCHEL, *op. cit.*, i, 303-308; 310-311.

concern us here. It is sufficient to note that in both the great types of the Occidental liturgy; that of Rome and Carthage on the one hand and of North Italy and Gaul on the other, prayers for « those asleep » have a place, although the formulae employed show some interesting differences from those in the prayers in the Greek liturgies. Thus in the *Liber Sacramentorum*¹ ascribed to Pope Gregory, 590 A. D., although, in the form in which we have it, certainly not by him, the prayer following the reading of the names of the Saints (the diptycha) runs (p. 214): *memento etiam, Domine, famulorum tuorum Ill., qui nos praecesserunt, et dormiunt in somno pacis*. Similar formulae occur in the various versions of the Gallican liturgy,² due probably to the influence of the Roman; cf. *Missale Gothicum* (MIGNE, lxxii, p. 254): *caris etiam nostris, qui nos in somno pacis praecesserunt, perennis aevi beatitudinem et perpetuae lucis gratiam remunerare dignetur*; in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (MIGNE, p. 279), in the prayer *post nomina, tribue etiam. . . caris nostris qui in Christo dormierunt, refrigerium in regione vivorum*; similarly, pp. 299-300, 308, 315; for the fuller form of the preceding *Missale*, cf. p. 344: *qui nos praecesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis, ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur*. This long form only occurs in the *Missale Bobiense*, called by MABILLON, *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* (MIGNE, pp. 454-455), in the *Missa Romensis cottidiana*. On the other hand, in the texts which contain the pure Gallican ritual, the *Missae* of MONE,³ the prayers for the dead do not contain any mention of « those asleep », or of the sleep of death, referring simply to the *primae resurrectionis*⁴ *gaudia*.

The date at which the reading of the names of the dead and the offering of prayers in their behalf had become a part of the established ritual of the Mass in both the Eastern and Western Church can be put with a fair degree of certainty in the second half of the fourth century.⁵ That some, at least, of the formulae these prayers contain referring to

¹ In MIGNE, P. L., lxxviii, from which I quote; cf. DUCHESNE, 120-126; RIETSCHEL, *op. cit.*, i, 342.

² Ed. by MABILLON, with his valuable essay, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, in MIGNE, P. L., lxxxii; cf. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 152-163; LECLERCQ, *op. cit.*, vi, 473-593; RIETSCHEL, *op. cit.*, i, 308-316.

³ So called because first published by him in *Lat. u. griech. Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, 1850; ed. in MIGNE, cxxxviii, pp. 863-882; cf. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 154; LECLERCQ, in CABROL, *Dict. d'Arch. chrét.*, vi, 519; RIETSCHEL, *op. cit.*, i, 309-310.

⁴ With this phrase, cf. TERT., *de Monog.*, 10 (above, p. 101), in *prima resurrectione consortium*, in connection with a prayer for the dead; for other references, cf. LE BLANT, *Inscr. chrét. de la Gaule*, ii, 81-88. The phrase occurs in *Rev.*, xx, 5, ἡ ἀνάστασις ἡ πρώτη (= *Vulg.*, *resurrectio prima*); cf. *I. Cor.*, xv, 20, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων (= *Vulg.*, *primitiae dormientium*), which occurs verbatim in the Liturgy of ST. BASIL (BRIGHTMAN,

op. cit., 404); cf. W. K. PRENTICE, *Liturgical Inscriptions in Syria*, in *T.A.P.A.*, xxxiii, 1902, 96. We have a right to conclude, therefore, that this reference to the first resurrection occurred in some form or another in the very earliest prayers of the Church; cf. LE BLANT, *op. cit.*, i, 383-4; ii, 81-88, and his *Étude sur les Sarcophages chrétiens antiques de la Ville d'Arles*, Paris, 1878, xxi-xxxix, where he discusses the liturgical origin of several inscriptional formulae, none of them unfortunately those with which this paper deals; KIRSCH, "Les acclamations des épitaphes chrétiens et les prières liturgiques pour les défunts," in *Comptes Rendus du quatrième Congrès scientifique internat. des Catholiques*, Fribourg (Suisse), Dixième Section, 1898, 113-122.

⁵ Cf. DUCHESNE, *op. cit.*, 86-90; RIETSCHEL, *op. cit.*, i, 272-4; LÉVI, "La Commemoration des Ames dans le Judaïsme," *Rev. d. Ét. Juives*, xxix, 1894, 48-50; CABROL, in *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, s. v. Diptyques, iv, 1051-1081.

the sleep of death had become before this period, in practically the same form, a part of Christian phraseology, if not of formal liturgy, is to be inferred not only from the fact that all of them represent direct quotations or literary adaptations of passages in the Bible, especially those in the *Psalms* and ST. PAUL which I have quoted above, but also from the striking similarity between the phrase, οἱ ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ προκεικοιμημένοι, which occurs with slight variations in all the important Greek liturgies, and the phrases I have quoted above (p. 99) from HERMAS. Any attempt, however, to be more specific than this and to construct the phraseology of the early prayers, such as those, for example, to which Tertullian refers, is beset with difficulties. Here our only contemporary evidence is afforded by Christian inscriptions, but the inscriptions which can be dated with certainty in the first two centuries are not only few in number but are of such a character as to throw practically no light on the problem.¹

The inscriptions which come from the oldest parts of the Roman catacombs and which can hardly date after the second century do not afford any examples of the figurative use of either κοιμᾶσθαι or dormire,² but have forms of the acclamation εἰρήνη σοι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *pax tibi, in pace*, together with the name of the deceased.³ The earliest expression of the metaphor is the use of the noun *dormitio* which, followed by the name of the deceased, is found in the older parts of the Roman catacombs,⁴ although the first dated example is of the year 369.⁵ Since this word was not used by pagan Latin writers in this metaphorical sense and since examples of its use by Christians are rare outside of Rome,⁶ it would seem that Roman Christians were reproducing the κοιμήσεις of Jewish inscriptions which date as early at least as the first part of the third century.⁷ That this word was familiar, however, to Greek Christians in Rome is shown by its appearance in HERMAS (above, p. 99), and it may be due only to chance that no earlier Christian inscriptions containing it survive from Rome. It appears in Egypt, especially in the Fayûm, both with the genitive of the name or in the formula, μνήσθητι τῆς κοιμήσεως καὶ ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ θούλου (τῆς θούλης),⁸ where, although the earliest dated example⁹ belongs to the year

¹ In the opinion, however, of FATHER KIRSCH, expressed in the article referred to above (p. 107, n. 4), the Memento of the dead as contained in the Canon of the Roman Mass, which is practically the same as the prayer in the *Sacr. Greg.* (above, p. 107), goes back to the third century and belongs, perhaps, to the first redaction of the Latin liturgy which was used at the eucharistic meetings of the faithful.

² Cf. MARUCCHI, *Éléments d'Archéologie chrétienne*, i, Paris, 1899, 158-9; 221; *Roma Sott.*, N. S., i, 92-97; KAUFMANN, *Hdb. d. altchristl. Epigraphik*, 55; 134-138.

³ There should be compared the Jewish inscriptional formula, *šālôm*; cf. MARUCCHI, *Éléments d. Arch. Chrét.*, i, 159; KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 134, 135. In the opinion of FATHER KIRSCH, *op. cit.*, the Christian formula does not continue the Jewish salutation but derives from the

liturgy which continued the Apostles' salute; cf. GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 220-221. In any case the ultimate Hebrew origin of the "peace formula" is beyond dispute.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 88, n. 5; BOLDETTI, *Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri*, 403, 467; SILVAGNI, *Inscr. Chr.*, N. S., i, nos. 17; 2395; 3633; 3731; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 1128; 1465 A; 2308 A; 3236 A, B, C; cf. GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 179.

⁵ *Dormitio Dulciti presb.*, DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 1128; MARUCCHI, *Roma Sott.*, N. S., i, 200.

⁶ I have noted none outside of Italy; for one from Verona, cf. DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 3237; from Ostia, *ibid.*, 3237 A.

⁷ Cf. above, pp. 88, 89.

⁸ Cf. LEFEBVRE, *op. cit.*, nos. 15, 16, 21, 27, 48, 51, and pp. xxiv; xxx; KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 145; LECLERCQ, in CABROL, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, i, 1152-4.

⁹ LEFEBVRE, *op. cit.*, no. 48.

409, this use of *κοιμήσις* may go back to the third century and thus continue the tradition of the Greek-speaking Jews of this region (cf. above, p. 85). There are several examples of the word also in the post-Constantinian inscriptions from Sicily.¹ The appearance of the phrase *ὕπὲρ τῆς κοιμήσεως* both in the prayer in *The Apostolic Constitutions* (above, p. 106) and in an inscription from Syria,² and the similarity between the formula of the inscriptions and that of the surviving liturgies, *μνήσθητι . . . πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων*, suggests that the noun, representing an adaptation of ST. PAUL, *I Thess.*, iv, 12, (but cf. *Is.*, lvii, 2), was in early use in the worship of the Eastern Church. In Greece proper, however, *κοιμητήριον*, applied to a single grave, is used to the practical exclusion of *κοιμήσις*, although this use of it is rare elsewhere.³

It may be due again only to chance that inscriptions with the simple verbs *κοιμᾶσθαι* and *dormire* are later than the earliest examples of the corresponding nouns, since the reading of the Bible in public worship and the repeating of prayers echoing its language must have made the use of these verbs familiar from the very beginning to the people at large. The earliest example seems to be an inscription from the cemetery of Domitilla, *ὃς ἐκοιμήθη*, which may date from the third century,⁴ but it is not until the fourth century that examples of both the finite verb and the participles become common in all parts of the Empire.⁵

It is to the third century also that there belong the earliest examples of *dormit*, *hic dormit*,⁶ which may represent a direct borrowing of the corresponding Greek forms or be due to the influence of the Bible, the Latin version of which was by this time in use in public worship.⁷ These formulae are especially common from the fourth century on at

¹ Cf. KAIBEL, *Inscr. Graecae Siciliae et Italiae*, = *I. G.*, xiv, Berlin, 1890, 119; 152; 191; STRAZZULLA, *Museum Epigraphicum*, 60, 145, 186; *Not. Scav.*, 1893, 291.

² Cf. H. GRÉGOIRE, *Recueil des Inscr. grecques Chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1922, no. 136.

³ Cf. BAYET, *de Titulis Atticae Christ.*, 43-54; DE ROSSI, *Roma Sott.*, i, 85-86; 211; iii, 545. The word occurs in an inscription from Thessalonica, *C. I. G.*, iv, 9439; in one from Phrygia, cf. Ramsey, in *J. H. S.*, iv, 1883, 429; for a possible example from Syria, cf. PRENTICE, *Pub. of Princeton Arch. Expedition to Syria*, iii, B, 1041. There are two examples of its use in Jewish inscriptions from Attica; cf. ROBERTS and GARDNER, *Intr. to Greek Epigraphy*, 513. For the similar use of Latin *coemeterium*, cf. above, p. 88.

⁴ Cf. MARUCCHI, *Roma Sott.*, i, 96.

⁵ For Egypt, cf. LEFEBVRE, *op. cit.*, nos. 22 and 39 and KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 242; for Asia Minor, GRÉGOIRE, *op. cit.*, 342 (yr. 476); for Sicily, STRAZZULLA, *op. cit.*, 21 (from the Vigna Cassia and therefore perhaps pre-Constantinian; cf. KRAUS, in *Realencykl.*, ii, 134-5; SCHULTZE, *Archäol. d. altchr. Kunst*, 145); for Africa, LEYNAUD,

Les Catacombes d'Hadrumète, Sousse, 1906, 13; for Syria, LITTMANN, in *Princeton Arch. Expedition*, iii, A, 575; PRENTICE, *T. A. P. A.*, xxxiii, 1902, 96, where he discusses the inscription on the so-called «tomb of Diogenes», which may date from the fourth century, and its relationship with Greek liturgy; for Attica, cf. BAYET, *op. cit.*, p. 45; for Rome, cf. DE ROSSI, *Roma Sott.*, ii, 166; MARUCCHI, *Mus. Later.*, tav. liv, 9; an example from Verona of the year 511 in *Not. Scav.*, 1889, 353.

⁶ Cf. above, p. 89; BOLDETTI, *Osserv. sopra i Cim.*, 393; GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 178-9; 192; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 404, 580, 762 A, 1595 A, 3197-3199, 3200-3205 A; cf. C. CAESAR, *Observationes ad aetatem titulorum Latinorum Christianorum definiendam spectantes*, Bonn, 1896, 21.

⁷ Cf. LECLERCQ, in CABROL, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, s. v. *Citations*, iii, 1757, who remarks that *Ps.*, iv, 9, which was read in public worship, suggested the inscrip-tional formulae in which death is referred to as a sleep or rest and that the liturgy was sufficient to suggest, without recurrence to the actual reading of the Bible, the formulae which echo ST. PAUL, *I Corin.*, xv, 18.

Ostia and in neighboring districts, including Rome, but examples from other parts of the Roman world are later and rare.¹

Beginning with the first half of the fourth century the formula *dormit in pace* becomes common in Rome² and later in Africa³ and Gaul.⁴ In some cases the words *in Deo* or *in Christo* are added,⁵ or the genitive *domini*.⁶ The corresponding Greek phrase, ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ, is rare.⁷ Both the Greek and Latin phrases must have been familiar in the Church at an early date, since they occur in the narrative portion of *The Apostolic Constitutions*, II, 22, 18 (above, p. 99) and in TERTULLIAN, *de An.*, 51 (above, p. 100), respectively, but they do not appear in any of the extant liturgies. They represent the metaphorical application of *Ps.*, iv, 9, but cf. also *Is.*, lvii, 2, above, p. 91. On the other hand the phraseology of the *Memento* of the Latin liturgies, *memento.... famulorum.... qui nos praecesserunt et dormiunt in somno pacis*, certainly suggested the various inscriptional formulae in which the words, *in somno* (or *in sopore*) *pacis* occur. The earliest date from the second half of the fourth century and examples occur down to the end of the seventh.⁸ They are especially frequent in Rome and South Italy, where the great majority date from the sixth century,⁹ but examples occur also in both Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul.¹⁰ Since there is no similar phrase either in the Greek liturgies or in Greek inscriptions, one must conclude that this particular expression was confined to the liturgy of the Roman Church and passed thence to Gaul.¹¹

¹ Cf. DE ROSSI, *Bull. d. Arch. Chr.*, 1875, 104-110; DESSAU, in *C.I.L.*, xiv, p. 171; LE BLANT, *Manuel d'Épigr. Chrét.*, 79. For examples from other parts of Italy, cf. *C.I.L.*, xi, 1513, from Pisa; *ibid.*, 3757, from Lorum; *ibid.*, 4031, from Capua, date 344; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 3197, from Naples; *ibid.*, 3388, from Aquileia; *C.I.L.*, viii, 23012 b and 21555, from Africa.

² Cf. DE ROSSI, *Bull. Arch. Chr.*, 1886, 64; CAESAR, *op. cit.*, 21; MARUCCHI, *Roma Sott.*, i, 223. The earliest dated example is of the year 329, DE ROSSI, *I.C.R.*, 36; cf. GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 192; MARUCCHI, in *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Chr.*, iv, 1898, 169; vii, 1901, 233-255; KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 192.

³ Cf. *C.I.L.*, viii, 11129 of the year 429.

⁴ Cf. LE BLANT, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, ii, 265, no. 527.

⁵ Cf. DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 3299; 3300.

⁶ Cf. DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 2288 and DE ROSSI, *Bull. Arch. Cr.*, 1881, 65-7; cf. HÜBNER, *Inscr. Hisp. Chr.*, no. 21: *obdormivit in pace Iesu quem dilexit*. This is the only example I have noted of *obdormire* and, since it is dated in the year 588, it may throw some light upon the date of the variant in the Latin version of *Acts*, vii, 60; cf. above, p. 94. The use of *requiescere* in this last phrase is common, especially in Spain (cf. HÜBNER, *op. cit.*, p. ix; GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 194).

⁷ An example from Attica in BAYET, *op. cit.*, no. 108;

from Rome, SILVAGNI, *op. cit.*, 2048; from Ölberg, cited by KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 292, dating not earlier than the fifth century; from the same period or later is the example from the Mount of Olives, published in *Rev. Arch.*, iv, 3, 1904, 141; from Egypt, LEFEBVRE, *op. cit.*, 74.

⁸ Cf. CAESAR, *op. cit.*, 21; GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 182, 194; KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 208, 290; DE ROSSI, *Bull. Arch. Cr.*, 1865, 56; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, nos. 2742, 1546, 3179-3195, 3444; on 3188 A, cf. *Supp. Papers, Am. Sch. of Cl. St. in Rome*, ii, 1908, 287. *Requiescit in somno pacis* is more common than the phrase with *dormit*.

⁹ Cf. *C.I.L.*, x, 4495; 4497-8; 4499; 4502; 4509-11; 4514 — all dated and all from Capua; cf. 1367, from Nola; 1543, from Naples; 3302, from Puteoli.

¹⁰ Cf. CAESAR, *op. cit.*, 25; LE BLANT, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, i, pp. 383-5; ii, p. 154.

¹¹ The only evidence which LE BLANT, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 383-5, offers in support of his conclusion, that the phrase *in somno pacis* formed a part of the prayers for the dead adopted by the whole Church during the first centuries of its existence, is RENAUDOT's translation of the Coptic liturgy of ST. BASIL, *O Domine, quietem illis tribue quorum praecessit dormitio*. There is no such phrase in the Greek liturgy of St. Basil and I can find no hint of its presence in the Eastern Church at an early period.

To the influence of the liturgy also may possibly be due the formula which appears on two Greek inscriptions found in Rome,¹ κοιμώμενοι ἐν Θεῷ Κυρίῳ [Χριστῷ] and κοιμώμενοι ἐν Κω Ημ, which De Rossi read as ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. The second phrase occurs, *cf.* above, p. 105, in the liturgy of SERAPION, τὰς ἐν Κυρίῳ κοιμηθείσας (ψυχὰς) and it, together with the variant, ἐν Χριστῷ, is common in inscriptions from Egypt;² it occurs, as far as I have noted, nowhere else, and none of the inscriptions in which it appears can be dated with assurance earlier than the sixth century. It is equally probable, however, that the phrases may have come directly from *I Cor.*, xv, 18 (above, p. 94), as the formula κοιμητήριον ἐν Χριστῷ, found in Attica,³ and τὸ κοιμητήριον ἕως ἀναστάσεως, found on an inscription in Macedonia, probably of the third century,⁴ doubtless do. To be compared is an inscription from Catania,⁵ σὺν Θεῷ καὶ [τῷ Ὑῷ] αὐτοῦ ἐκοιμ[ήθη].

The absence from Latin inscriptions of corresponding formulae, *dormire in Deo*, *in Domino*, *in Christo*,⁶ makes improbable the restoration, adopted by DESSAU and DIEHL,⁷ of an inscription found at Lanuvium and first published by SCHNEIDER-GRAZIOSI⁸ in the form: [Pri]mitiba / [in] Dom. dor/[mi]t. In a later article,⁹ however, he suggested that a more probable reading for the second line was, *in p[ace] Dom. dor.*, representing, *in pace Domini dormit*, a reading he supports by quoting the examples of this phrase to which I have referred above, p. 110.¹⁰

It is unfortunate that the reading of this inscription is uncertain, since otherwise it might throw light upon the history of the variant reading in the Latin text of *Acts*, vii, 60; *cf.* above, p. 94. Here, as I noted, the *Versio Antiqua* had *dormit*, but in three Mss. of the ninth century¹¹ (B, K, V, representing ALCUIN's recension), in one of the thirteenth (p), in one of the fifteenth (w), in the codex written by WILLIAM DE HALES in 1254 (W), in the printed text of STEPHANUS (Paris, 1538), in the *Editio Sixtina* (Rome, 1590), and in the *Editio Clementina* (Rome, 1592), the reading is *obdormivit in Domino*. I have been unable to find any traces of this reading in the Fathers, and the earliest parallel which I

¹ *Cf.* DE ROSSI, *Bull. Arch. Cr.*, 1881, 65-7.

² *Cf.* LEFEBVRE, *op. cit.*, nos. 2-12; 62, 67, 134, and p. xxvii.

³ *Cf.* BAYET, *op. cit.*, no. 20, and p. 46.

⁴ *Cf.* C.I.G., 9439; BAYET, *op. cit.*, 44-6.

⁵ *Cf.* KAIBEL, *Inscr. Gr.*, xiv, 549.

⁶ The nearest approach to them is the formula, *quiescit in Christo et pace*, C.I.L., xii, 2128, LE BLANT, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule*, no. 399; *requiescit in Domino*, KRAUS, *Die Inschriften der Rheinlande*, Leipzig, 1890-4, i, 199; *requiescit in Deo*, MARUCCHI, *Mus. Later.*, tav. li, no. 19; *cf.* also, *dormit in pace in Christo*, DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 3300 and *dormit in pace in Deo*, *ibid.*, 3299. Phrases with *in Deo*, *in Domino*, without a verb, are to be explained by the ellipsis of *vivas*, *vives*, which are frequently written; *cf.* GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 224. Both *in Christo quies-*

cere and *in Christo dormire* occur in the liturgies, *cf.* above, p. 109.

⁷ *Cf.* DESSAU, *Eph. Epigr.*, ix, 643 A, p. 392; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 3299 A.

⁸ In *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.*, 1907, 242 and *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1907, 213.

⁹ In *Bull. Com.*, 1913, 252.

¹⁰ DIEHL, *op. cit.*, remarks in his note, "*vix [in p(ace)]*". The stone has, unfortunately, disappeared and I was unable to make a fresh study of it, but the learned Inspector of local Antiquities, Don Alberto Galieti, assured me that in his opinion the second reading of Schneider-Graziosi was the correct one.

¹¹ *Cf.* the critical note of WORDSWORTH and WHITE, and for a discussion of the Mss., i, pp. xii-xiv; ii, pp. xiii-xv.

can offer is that furnished by BEDE (d. 735), in his *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 11 (ed. PLUMMER, Oxford, 1896), *fratrum.... ex quibus aliquanti iam dormierunt in Domino*, words which, of course, may have been suggested to Bede by *I Cor.*, xv, 6, as PLUMMER remarks.

In consideration, therefore, of the absence, as far, at least, as I have able to discover to the contrary, from Latin Christian monuments both literary and epigraphical of the early centuries, of the phrases, *dormire in Domino* and *dormire in Deo*, added importance is given to the appearance of the latter in an inscription published by PROFESSOR SANDERS in the preceding volume of these *Memoirs*:¹

PARENTES FECERYN FILI
E CARISSIME QYE BIXIT
ANNOS IIII DIEBYS
XXX DORMIT IN DEO
DEF CAL OCTOB

In the judgment of Professor Sanders, — and no one is better qualified than he to express a judgment on these matters, — this inscription “seems earlier than the fourth century,” and he suggests that “it may be a very early Christian inscription: note *fecerun*, *e* for *ae* three times, *bixit* for *vixit*, and the change of cases from *annos* to *diebus*.” These peculiarities, however, are characteristic of the written records of the informal speech throughout the Empire from the earliest date of such records down to the rise of the Romance dialects. On Christian inscriptions, which can be dated without reference to these linguistic features, we find *que bixit*, *qui* (= *que*) *bixit*, during the fourth and fifth centuries,² *e* for *ae* during the same period,³ and examples of this writing and examples of the interchange of initial *v* and *b* (*bixit*, *bivus*, etc.) occur all the way down.⁴ The loss of final *t* in the third plural ending seems not to occur earlier than the fourth century; thus we find *fecerun* in the year 338⁵ and *precesserun* and *dormiun* in undated inscriptions which, however, can certainly not be earlier than the fourth century.⁶ From the same period

¹ Vol. x, 1932, 75-6, Pl. xvii.

² Cf. DE ROSSI, *Insc. Chr. Rom.*, 111, yr. 351; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 1722, A. D. 409; for *bixit* alone, *Bull. Com.*, xv, 1909, 141, later than the second half of the fifth century; DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 910; cf. C. H. GRANDGENT, *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, Boston, 1907, 133.

³ Cf. DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, nos. 112, 122, 126, from the fourth century; 914, from the late fifth; 944, from the sixth.

⁴ Cf. DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 116, 1062; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 2912, 1630; LE BLANT, *op. cit.*, no. 613 A. The change of initial *v* to *b* is especially common in Rome and So. Italy, but rare, chiefly *bixit*, in No. Italy, Spain, and

Gaul; cf. W. A. BAEHRENS, *Sprachlicher Kommentar zur Vulgärlateinischen Appendix Probi*, Halle, 1922, 79-80.

⁵ Cf. DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 48; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 1266; MARUCCHI, *Mus. Later.*, tav. liii, 16; for examples from Gaul and other parts of the Empire, cf. J. PIRSON, *La Langue des Inscriptions de la Gaule*, Brussels, 1901, 101-104.

⁶ Cf. MARUCCHI, *op. cit.*, tav. lxiv, 31; DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 1472. The date of this inscription is fixed, approximately at least, by the expression *puella Dei* which occurs in it and which is not found earlier than the fourth century; cf. KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 181; LE BLANT, *Manuel d'Ep. Chr.*, 24.

the use of phrases with the Accusative and Ablative to express duration of time is common, although the usual order is Ablative-Accusative, not as here, Accusative-Ablative. This order occurs in DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 4641, *annos ies* (sic), *mensibus quinque*, unfortunately without date.¹

But little help, therefore, toward dating this inscription is furnished by these linguistic and grammatical peculiarities, since they are not confined to any one century or to any one country. A second possible indication of date is the palaeography but here the matter is no less indefinite. Professor Sanders calls attention to the form of the *m* in *carissime* and *dormit* and that of the *b* in *diebus* and *octob.*, and notes that this *m* is found "on papyri rarely from the first century A. D. on." Inscriptions, however, show no examples of it until the third century at the earliest.² The same applies to the form of the *b*.³ Mention should be made also of the Greek form of the *u* in *que* and *diebus*, the earliest example of which in Christian inscriptions is that of the year 382 (DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 313), although it occurs on pagan inscriptions which show Greek influence as early as the second century.⁴ The form occurs as late as the sixth century.⁵

A third possible indication of the date is the form of the tablet, the *tabula ansata*. This, Professor Sanders notes, "is rare and early in Christian inscriptions from Rome." Unfortunately, however, we do not know that this inscription came originally from Rome (*cf.* Professor Sanders' statement, p. 75). It will not do, therefore, to apply to it deductions drawn from what we know of Roman practice and account must be taken also of Christian *tabulae ansatae* from other parts of the Roman world. This is a subject which must be left for further investigation and I must content myself with noting that examples of these *tabulae ansatae* are found in Rome from the late fourth century down at least into the sixth,⁶ and that they are common during the same period in different parts of the Empire.⁷ The presence of letters in the *ansae*, which are too illegible to be read with certainty, may also have a bearing on the date, since the practice of filling the *ansae* with abbreviations is more usual in the later examples.

¹ For the Ablative-Accusative, *cf.* DIEHL, *op. cit.*, 1545, yr. 331; 1749, yr. 487; C.I.L., viii, 670. On this shift of cases, *cf.* A. H. SALONIUS, *Vitae Patrum*, Lund, 1920, 121-132.

² Early examples occur in Africa; *cf.* C.I.L., viii, 11824, and CAGNAT, in *Rev. de Philologie*, xix, 1895, 214-217. Close to the form of this *m* is that of the *m* in DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 395, of the year 391; *cf.* the graffiti of the year 346, *ibid.*, 90. The form does not occur in Gaul until the sixth century; *cf.* LE BLANT, *Manuel d'Ep. Chrét.*, 42 and his *Paléographie des Inscriptions Latines du III^e Siècle à la Fin du VII^e*, Paris, 1898, 36-7.

³ *Cf.* DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 50, of the year 338; for this *b* in Gaul, *cf.* LE BLANT, *Inscr. Chr. de la Gaule*, pl. xiii, nos. 58, 60; *cf.* HÜBNER, *Exempl. Script. Ep. Lat.*, p. xxxviii.

⁴ *Cf.* C.I.L., vi, 12906, 15282; *cf.* HÜBNER, *Exempl.*, nos. 305, 370 and p. lxvi.

⁵ *Cf.* DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, 1026, of the year 530.

⁶ *Cf.* DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, no. 359, of the year 386. To the fourth century or later must be assigned the undated inscriptions in MARUCCHI, *Mus. Later.*, tav. xlv, 7, which Marucchi puts (p. 44) at the end of the fourth; *ibid.*, lix, 39 (*cf.* KAUFMANN, *op. cit.*, 124); *ibid.*, lxx, 26. To the sixth century, year 530, belongs DE ROSSI, *op. cit.*, no. 1026.

⁷ They are especially common in Syria; *cf.* PRENTICE, in *Princeton Arch. Expedition*, iii, A, nos. 158-161; 170; for Africa, *cf.* C.I.L., viii, 681, 749; for Gaul, C.I.L., xii, 5739, 5743, 5854; for Aquitania, C.I.L., xiii, 128; for Syracuse, *Röm. Quartalschr.*, x, 1896, 14, no. 11.

Our ignorance, therefore, of the provenance of this inscription and the impossibility of dating it with assurance lessen its value as evidence for the existence of the formula, *dormit in Deo*. On the other hand, the very presence of this formula, which seems to occur nowhere else, raises a doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription.¹ If it is genuine, the bold statement of the god-head of Christ expressed by the formula, a statement which finds its only parallel in some of the phrases employed by the Monarchians,² deserves the attention of theologians, into whose field I have already trespassed too far, but not, I hope, without forgiveness.³

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¹ The words of GROSSI GONDI, *op. cit.*, 462, are so pertinent to this case that I cannot forebear quoting them: "Se per una ragione qualunque, o non si sappia il luogo di rinvenimento, o rimanga ignoto a quale comunità di persone abbia esso appartenuto, e si tratti di un'iscrizione, che può dar luogo a qualche sospetto, il dubbio rimarrà insolubile."

² Cf. HARNACK, *History of Dogma*, tr. by N. BUCHANAN, Boston, 1897, iii, 51-81.

³ The preparation of this paper was made easier by the generous coöperation of the authorities of the Istituto Biblico Pontificio and the Pontificia Università Gregoriana, to whom and to whose associates I wish to express sincere thanks.

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THE LARGE BATHS AT HADRIAN'S VILLA.

HENRY D. MIRICK.

(PLATES 4-12).

IN the autumn of 1931 the Director of Hadrian's Villa, CAVALIER DOTTOR GIOACCHINO MANCINI, very kindly granted the American Academy in Rome the privilege of excavating the large or so-called Men's Baths at Hadrian's Villa¹ and agreed to share the expenses with the Academy.

Hadrian's Villa is 17 miles (27 kilometers) east of Rome and 2 miles (3.2 kilometers) southwest of Tivoli. It is situated on a long low ridge bordered on the west by the level expanse of the Campagna and on the east by a small valley which separates it from the foothills of the Apennines. The natural charms of this place are familiar to tourists, and its diversified architectural features have long held the attention and exercised the ingenuity of architects and archaeologists alike.²

Even in its present state one can imagine its past splendor when the now ruined gardens, theaters, palaces, baths and other buildings were adorned with priceless treasures of art which the Emperor Hadrian had collected on his travels throughout his vast empire. Here he reproduced many of the wonders he had seen, and created for himself and his court a villa which reflected the luxurious life of that day.

There were several bathing establishments at the villa. The one which forms the subject of the present paper is situated in the southwestern portion (disregarding the Academy Group) near the Canopus; and there is every reason to consider it Hadrianic in date.³ It faces the so-called Women's Baths on the north and the Barracks of the Praetorian Guard on the south. On the west is the Vestibule Group for the Canopus⁴

¹ See HERMANN WINNEFELD, *Die Villa des Hadrian bei Tivoli* (= *Jahrbuch des K. Deutschen Archäol. Inst.*, 3. *Ergänzungsheft*, Berlin, 1895), pp. 136-141; pl. xiii, right; PIERRE GUSMAN, *La Villa Impériale de Tibur*, Paris, 1904, pp. 197-201; RODOLFO LANCIANI, *La Villa Adriana*, Rome, 1906; ROBERTO PARIBENI, *The Villa of the Emperor Hadrian at Tivoli*, Milan, n. d.

² Cf. ANDERSON, SPIERS, AND ASHBY, *The Architecture*

of Ancient Rome, London (1927), pp. 139-144, with publications there cited.

³ For the chronology of various parts of the villa, see WINNEFELD, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-40, and G. LUGLI, in *Bull. Com.*, lv, 1928, pp. 139-204.

⁴ Published in the succeeding article of the present volume.

and on the east is a terrace about 30 feet (9 meters) high. A tunnel under this terrace, opening out on the court between the bath in question and the smaller one to the north, communicates with the Imperial Palace on the east side of the villa. It is unlikely, however, that the larger bath was used by the Emperor or his court. Though rich in stucco decoration, it lacked the beautiful marble work and handsome floor mosaics found in those portions of the villa frequented by the imperial household. It may have been used by the public or, as its proximity to the Barracks suggests, by the soldiers quartered at the villa. This latter theory may explain the two sets of bathing rooms found in the bath, the larger rooms being designed for the soldiers and the smaller ones for the officers.

Every visitor to Hadrian's Villa is familiar with the imposing remains of this bath. Its massive walls and soaring vaults, even in their present ruined condition, dominate this portion of the villa. Enough of the construction has always stood above ground to give a general idea of the arrangement of the rooms, but various details of the plan have remained unknown. It was the purpose of the excavations here recorded to clear up as many of these uncertainties as possible.

Work was begun in November, 1931, with a force of eight men. It was prosecuted almost without interruption until the middle of the following March, when funds became depleted. It was not until the end of May that sufficient additional money was available to carry on the work for another five weeks. The actual direction of the undertaking lay with the Italian administration, but full assistance was given the Academy in carrying out any special work necessary in making the restored drawings of the buildings.

Financial limitations prevented a complete excavation of the entire bathing establishment; all the important rooms, however, were cleared. In those places which could not be excavated, trenches were dug in order to determine the plan of the building. I am greatly indebted to MR. GORHAM P. STEVENS, at that time Director of the American Academy in Rome, for his help in deciding where these additional excavations should be made, and for his valuable criticism and assistance in preparing the restored drawings.

Most of the rooms in the Baths had been buried to a depth of about 6 to 7 feet (2 meters), although in some places, particularly in the furnace rooms, it was necessary to conduct excavations to a depth of 10 feet (3 meters) in order to reach floor level. Work was begun in the Praefurnium on the south side of the building and was gradually extended until all of the rooms west of the Vestibulum and so-called Latrina were cleared. The furnace rooms and the service passage-ways connecting them with the warm rooms were the most difficult parts to excavate. The floors of the furnace rooms lay 6 to 7 feet (2 meters) below those of the bathing rooms, and the passage-ways were in most cases almost completely filled with earth and rubbish. There was also considerable difficulty in clearing out the Frigidarium and some of the other rooms, where large masses of concrete vaulting had fallen in. It proved necessary to remove some of this concrete in order to

penetrate to the floor level. All of the excavated material was carried away by hand-car for dumping to an area about 200 meters distant; this area lies to the northwest of the « Vestibule Group ». The Vestibulum and its adjoining rooms were not excavated, nor were the Palestra, the Latrina and the Circular Passage on the north side of the Frigidarium, but trenches determining the character of all these elements, with the exception of the Latrina, were dug as follows :

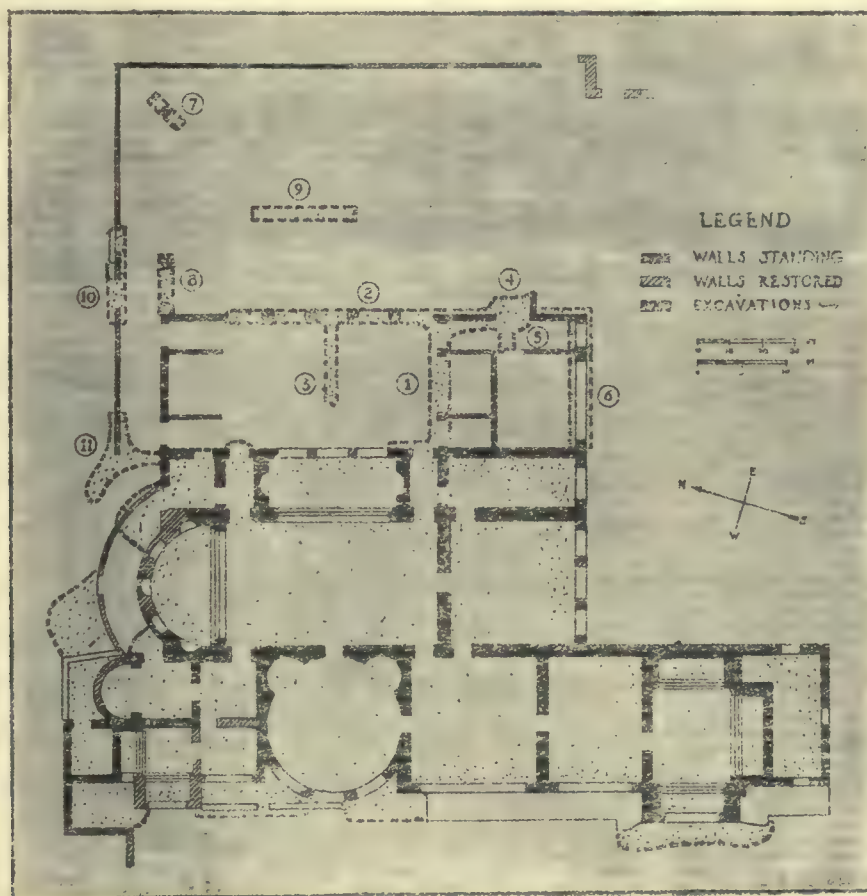


Diagram showing Excavations.

TRENCH I determined the construction of the south end of the Vestibulum and the form of the adjoining rooms.

TRENCH II showed that there were columns along the east side of the Vestibulum. The travertine bases had been removed leaving large holes in the foundation wall beneath the bases. By determining the centers of these holes it was possible to establish the axial unit of the columns. The paving to the east of the bases proved to be of small bricks laid on edge in a herring-bone pattern.

TRENCH III showed an over-all mosaic of small white marble tesserae in the Vestibulum, indicating a roof above. It also showed that there was no pool or basin in the center of the room.

TRENCH IV determined the position of the south portico of the Palestra and located the door connecting it with the small corridor leading into the Vestibulum.

TRENCH V showed that there had originally been a door into the so-called Latrina at this point. The door was walled up at some later period.

TRENCH VI proved that there were no doors in the south wall of the Latrina or adjoining corridor. It was impossible to excavate the Latrina, hence the purpose of this room is purely a matter of surmise.

TRENCH VII revealed a hole where the angle travertine column base of the portico had been. It also showed that the portico was paved with small mosaic in contrast to the herringbone brick pattern of the Palestra. A right-angle turn of the black band of the mosaic proved that the portico turned here.

TRENCH VIII uncovered the holes where the travertine bases of the columns in the northwest corner of the Palestra stood. From these bases the axial unit of the entire portico was computed.

TRENCH IX showed that the pavement of the Palestra was in all probability entirely composed of brick, and that there was neither basin nor pool on the axis.

TRENCH X revealed an entrance door to the Palestra as shown on the plan. The two doors indicated on the south side of the Portico are hypothetical, as this wall was too deeply buried to allow of complete excavation.

TRENCH XI located the end of this wall. It was impossible to determine the construction here, as the masonry is completely destroyed, but it may be assumed that there was a door from the portico to the terrace.

These trenches supplied the information necessary to complete the ground plan of the building.

The drawing on Pl. 7 shows exactly which walls were standing when the excavations were made. The vaulting of the Aula and Apodyterium was complete, and enough of the vaulting of the Frigidarium, Tholus and the larger warm rooms remained to enable me to determine the exact height and form of each. All traces of the roofing in the Vestibulum have disappeared, so that its character and height are only approximate. The flooring in most of the rooms has been very badly damaged through the falling of the vaults, but enough remains to determine the type of mosaic used in each room.

The walls themselves were made of brick. Clamp holes in the masonry show that they were faced on the lower part with a revetment of thin marble slabs. Above they were undoubtedly covered with a painted stucco decoration. Small fragments of painted stucco were found *in situ* on the walls of the Aula and the Frigidarium.

The vaults were made of solid concrete. Most of them were probably covered with stucco decoration in low relief. A portion of the stucco work is still *in situ* on one of the groins of the vaulting of the Aula: a photograph of this will be found on Pl. 10,

Fig. 2. Many fragments of fine stucco work as commonly used for vaults were also found in excavating the larger Tepidarium and Calidarium. Typical examples will be found on Pl. 11, Fig. 1. The domed vaulting of the Tholus, however, was covered with painted stucco. There are fragments of this painted stucco on the dome as well as on the upper part of the circular niche on the southeast side of the room (Pl. 11, Fig. 6). There was also painted decoration on the vaults of the two passage-ways connecting the Vestibulum and the Frigidarium.

Wherever possible an attempt was made to incorporate the decoration still *in situ* in the restored drawings.

Although the marble slabs have been removed from the lower portion of the walls, it was possible, by studying the clamp holes and the impressions which the slabs have left, in some places, in this concrete backing, to determine the approximate pattern of the revetment. Moreover, many pieces of this marble decoration itself were found in the excavation. A photograph of a few characteristic fragments is shown on Pl. 11, Fig. 2. An Ionic capital was unearthed in the Frigidarium, as well as several Corinthian capitals (Pl. 11, Figs. 3, 4). The Ionic capital fitted exactly the column shafts and bases found in excavating the Frigidarium. The base and capital are of Carrara marble; the shaft is of *cipollino* and monolithic. As the top of these columns exactly reaches the bottom of the arches screening the two pools of the Frigidarium, the columns undoubtedly belong there. I judge that the Corinthian capitals, from their number and size, were used in the Portico around the Palestra.

When there were no details or traces of decoration with which to work, as in the treatment of the Vestibulum, or the upper wall surface of the Aula and Frigidarium, or the decoration of the vaulting of the Frigidarium, or the window grills in all the rooms, the restored drawings were made to conform as nearly as possible with the decorations still extant at other points in this building.

The restored drawings of the longitudinal and cross sections through the Bath are found on Pls. 5 and 6.

Apparently no effort was made to design a monumental façade for the Bath. The architect was concerned particularly with the interior. I have therefore omitted to make any drawing of the façade.

On Pl. 8 will be found a drawing which shows the interesting manner in which the roofs of different pitch were joined. Enough of the vaulting remains to give a very accurate picture of how the Romans constructed their roofs and disposed of the rain water. Dotted lines on the drawing are used whenever there were no data for restoration. The position of the rain pipes is indicated also by dotted lines.

Below, on the same plate, is a plan showing the furnaces and attendant method of heating. Certain features on the plan need explanation. The Aula, for instance, had

hypocaust flooring ; but this was probably for dryness rather than for heating purposes, as there are no hollow tile walls, nor flues, nor traces of furnaces. Its temperature, therefore, was probably not regulated by fires below the floor but by two square registers, one in the wall toward the Frigidarium and one in the wall toward the Tepidarium. These two openings still exist and there is apparently no other explanation of their use. They both unquestionably belong to the original structure. Contrary to previous supposition the Tholus, also, apparently had no arrangement for heating under the floor. There were no traces of hypocaust flooring, hollow tile walls or flues through which the heat could circulate.

In regard to the large and small rooms with bathing tubs there were hypocaust floors, as I have indicated. There were no remains of brick piers except along the sides of the floors. Perhaps for additional heat a floor construction of concrete slabs was employed. Such construction was sometimes used, and the span here is not too great.

The heating plan of the other rooms is illustrated in the drawing and needs no comment. However, the section at the top of Pl. 8 requires a little explanation. The presence of clamp holes in the vaults of the hot rooms leads me to believe that there were hollow tiles attached to the ceilings as well as to the walls. This method of construction is described in VITRUVIUS.¹ The hot air from the fire below the floor rose through the walls and vaults and escaped above through vents. These vents may be seen in the vaults : they are about 2 ft. (60 c.) wide and 2 ft. (60 c.) high, and have pointed tops made of sloping tiles (Pl. 11, Fig. 5). It is likely that charcoal was used in the furnaces : there would thus be no smoke issuing from the vents. A few words may be added in regard to the furnace rooms and the furnaces. In both furnace rooms the observer will note holes at the springing of the vaults, which at first sight might be taken for the beam holes of a floor. They are rather the beam holes for supporting the concrete vaulting until it was set. When the furnaces were excavated a number of wrought iron bars were found. Portions of some of these are still *in situ*, and their position clearly shows that they served the purpose of our modern fire gratings.

The principal difficulties in solving the plan of the building were first to locate the entrance or entrances and second to determine the character of the area between the Palestra and the Frigidarium.

Large windows on the west side of the building show that the architect took advantage of the afternoon sun for the hot and tepid baths.² On the south side, also, the excavations proved that there were windows only. The entrance, therefore, must have been either through the Palestra or on the north side. Possibly the bathers entered through a door in the Portico of the Palestra and passed on into the so-called Vestibulum, or possibly they entered by way of the semi-circular terrace on the north side of the Frigidarium.

¹ Book V, chap. x, 3.

² Cf. VITR., V, x, 1.

There were probably several entrances: one on this terrace for those crossing over from the small bath, one on the north side of the Palestra for those coming from the tunnel, and one on the south side of the Palestra for those entering from the courtyard of the Barracks on the south.

The second problem was to determine the character of the area between the Palestra and the Frigidarium. Was it an open-air courtyard, as was long supposed, or was it really an enclosed Vestibulum? The walls to the north and south of this area are in a ruinous condition. There is a considerable amount left of the wall to the west. Excavations showed that there were supports, probably columns, along the east side of the area 12 ½ feet (3.70 m.) on centers. They also showed that the entire area was covered with small mosaic such as is found in the covered rooms of the Bath. The open Palestra, on the other hand, was paved with brick. This led me to believe that the area was roofed over and not open to the sky. Vaulting of any sort was impossible, as the walls were too thin to support it. Probably a gabled roof with wooden trusses was used. The room must have been open to the Palestra on the east side and separated from the Frigidarium on the west by a screen of some sort.

The construction of the other rooms in the Baths was quite apparent. It was only necessary to determine their use. I shall take up each in turn.

Leaving the Vestibulum and passing through either one of two passage-ways, we enter a room which is undoubtedly the Frigidarium — a large vaulted hall quite in character with the tradition of Roman baths. It had two large bathing pools, one rectangular, the other semi-circular, both screened from the room by an arcade carried by columns. In the center of the room there was probably a water basin.

The Frigidarium was vaulted in a very interesting manner. Apparently the room was too long for a single groined vault, and, as the use of two such vaults was not practical in this case, the architect devised the scheme of placing a barrel vault at each end of the room. This left a convenient space for a groined vault which could be raised sufficiently above the side vaults to permit clere-story lighting. The photograph on Pl. 10, Fig. 1, shows the northeast corner of the room.

The rectangular room adjoining the more southerly of the two passages between the Vestibulum and the Frigidarium was probably used as the dressing room or Apodyterium. It was customary in Roman baths to enter this room before the bathing room. In a late Roman period the Apodyterium was adapted to some other purpose. The large square room, designated *Aula* on the plan, was long considered the Apodyterium, but the supposition seems unlikely. The rich ceiling decorations and the hypocaust floor lead me to believe that it was probably a conversation room or place where people met before or after bathing. Its convenient location between the warm rooms and the cold rooms and its size add additional weight to this theory.

The bathers could enter the warm rooms either directly from the Frigidarium, or through the Aula, or through the circular room called the Tholus.

The Tholus had no bathing arrangement. It may have been used as a sun room or sand-bath room. In one of the other Baths¹ at the villa there is a circular room very similar to this and in a much better state of preservation. It was undoubtedly used as a sand bath, as there are no traces of water pipes. This room may very likely have been used in the same way: during the excavation it was discovered that the space under the northeast portion of the room had in ancient times been carried considerably lower than elsewhere in the room, which may strengthen the above theory.

Continuing from the Tholus we enter the Tepidarium and the two rooms designated as Calidaria. These three rooms were probably graduated in temperature so that the hottest room was the last to be entered by the bathers. There are three furnaces under the floor of the last room, which is the bathing room, whereas there are only two in the room preceding it and but one in the Tepidarium. The heating plan on Pl. 8 shows the location of these furnaces. On Pl. 12, Figs. 2, 3, 5, may be found photographs of the furnaces and the service passage connecting them.

The warm rooms on the north side of the Tholus are similar in arrangement to these three rooms, but smaller in size. Adjoining the Tepidarium in the smaller group is a room with a circular niche on the north side, which may have been used as a rubbing room, or it may have been a small conversation room, such as the one adjoining the larger Tepidarium, already described.

The only other room needing explanation is the so-called Latrina on the east side of the building. This room was not excavated, so I have no way of judging its purpose. I have called it a Latrina, but it may have been a Bibliotheca.

By consulting the plan on Pl. 4 the arrangement of all these rooms will be readily seen. Certain further details of the Baths not discussed in the text are illustrated on Pls. 9-12.

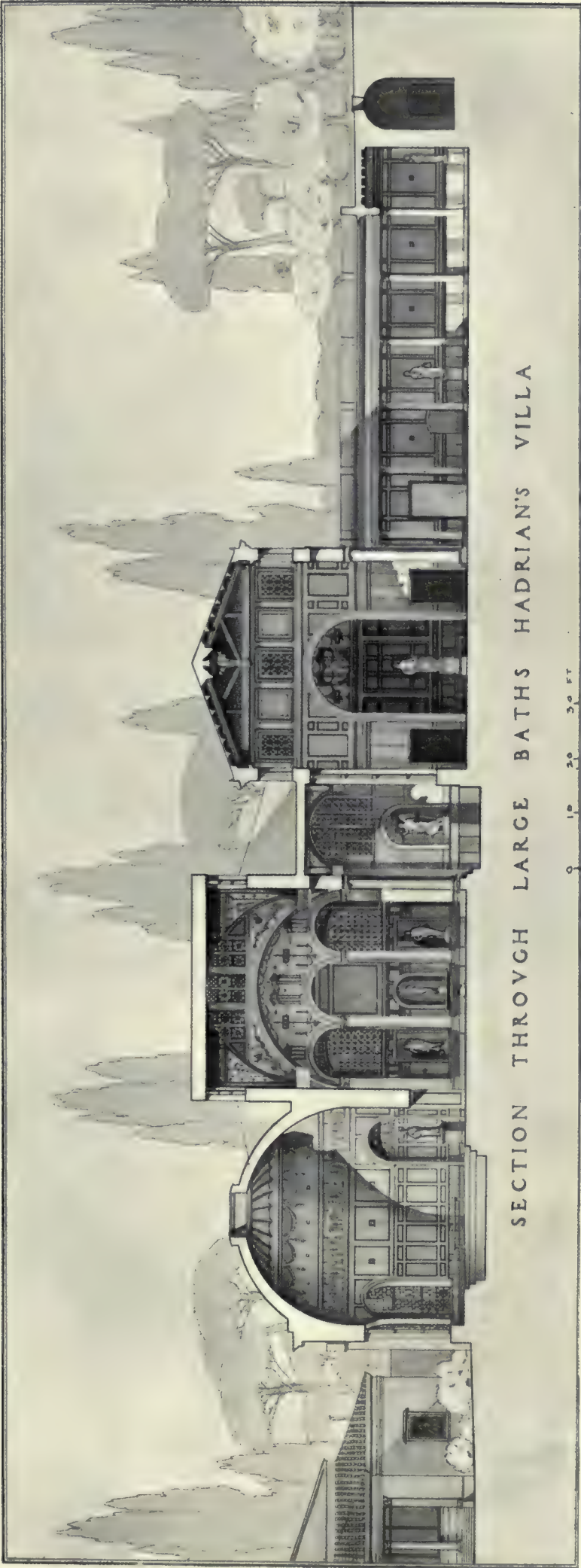
The establishment which has formed the subject of this study, while presenting no features of outstanding interest, except the manner in which the heated air from the furnaces escaped from the roof, is a sound exponent of Roman tradition as interpreted by the Architect Emperor Hadrian.²

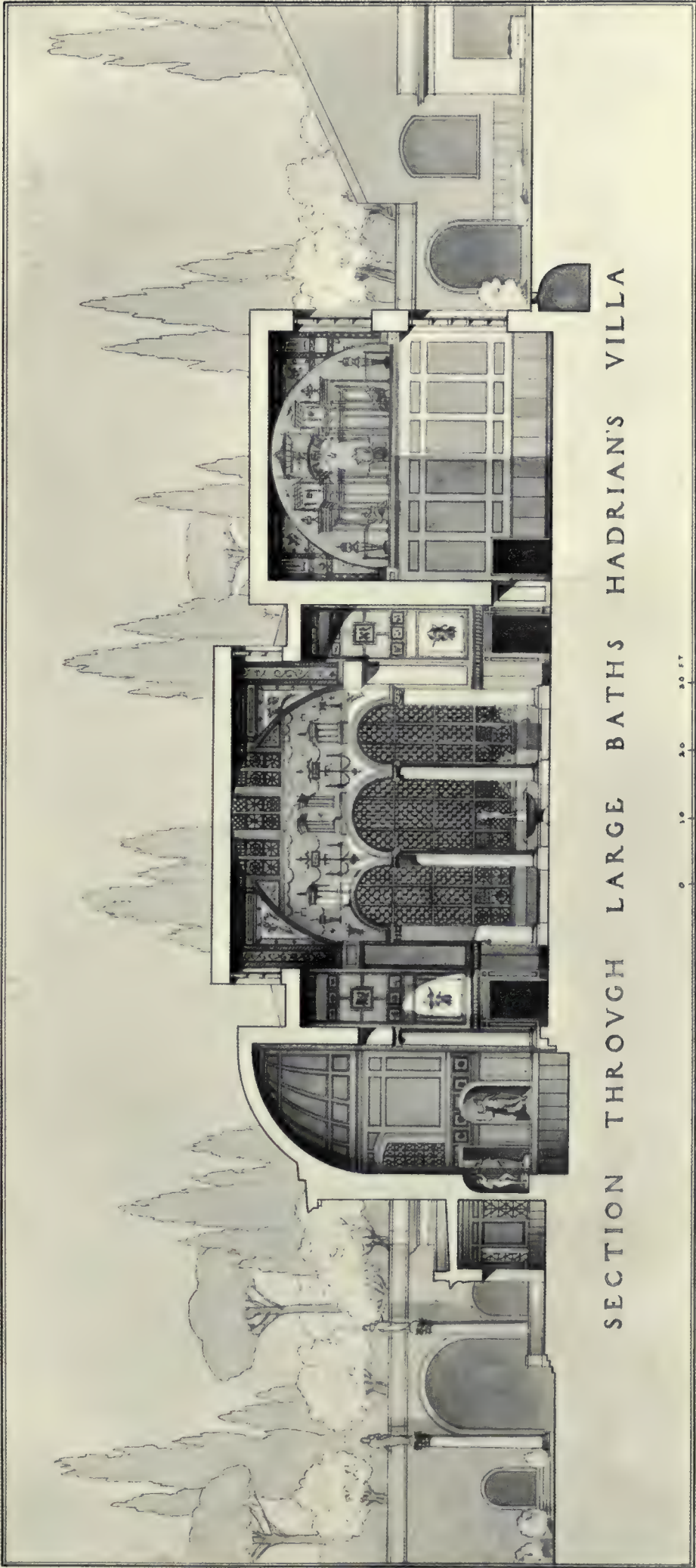
¹ Measured and drawn by GEORGE FRASER, a Former Fellow in Architecture of the American Academy in Rome. He published a section through this bath in the Annual Report of the American Academy in Rome for the year 1926-1927, plate opposite p. 18; a photograph of the plan is on file at the Academy.

² For the subject of Roman baths in general, see ANDERSON, SPIERS, AND ASHBY, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-113; and D. S. ROBERTSON, *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge, 1929, p. 396, index, s. v. Baths, Roman; with Vol. X, 1932, pp. 129-133, 143 f., of these *Memoirs*.









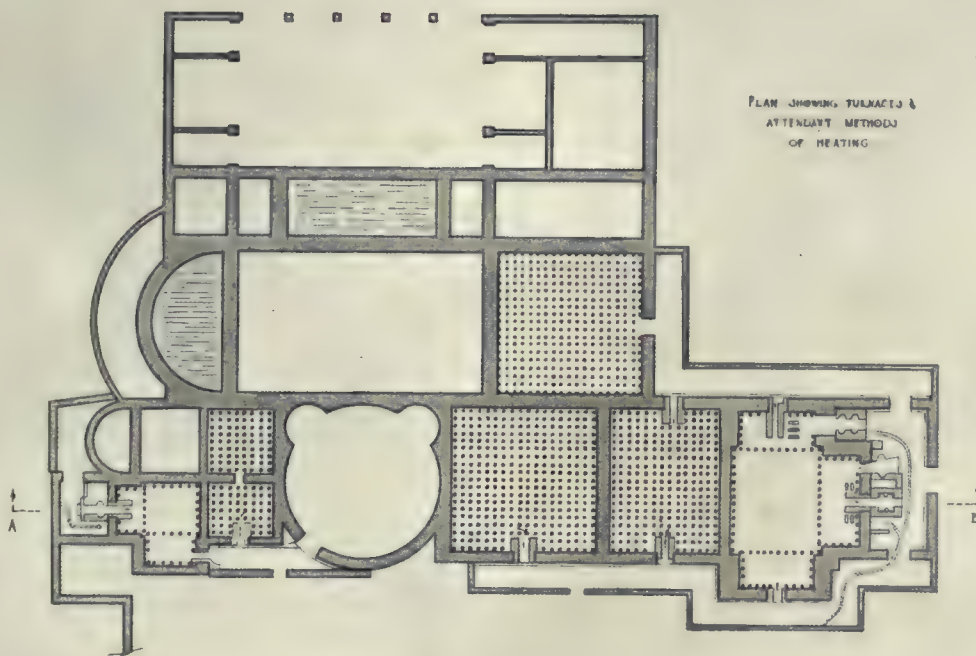
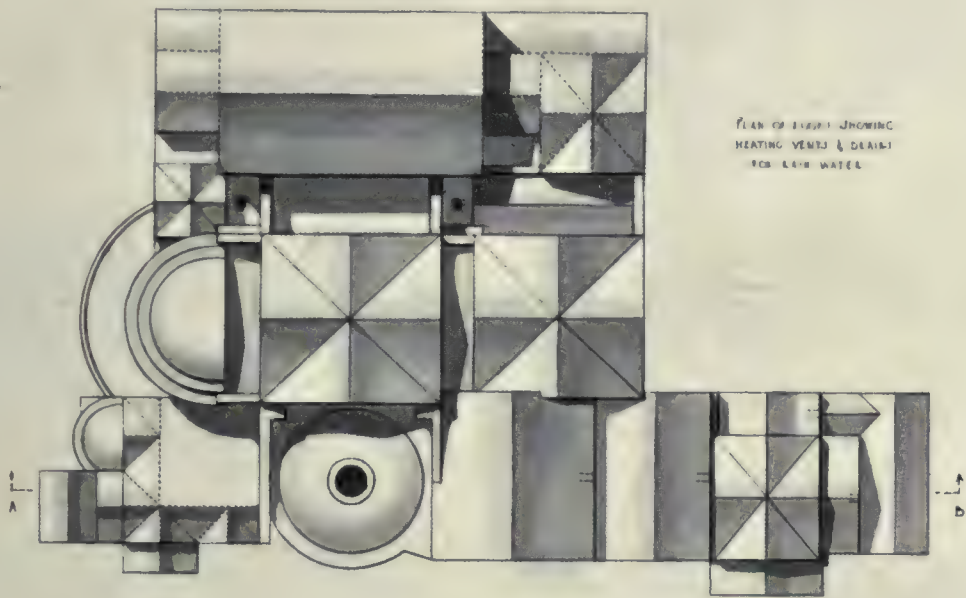
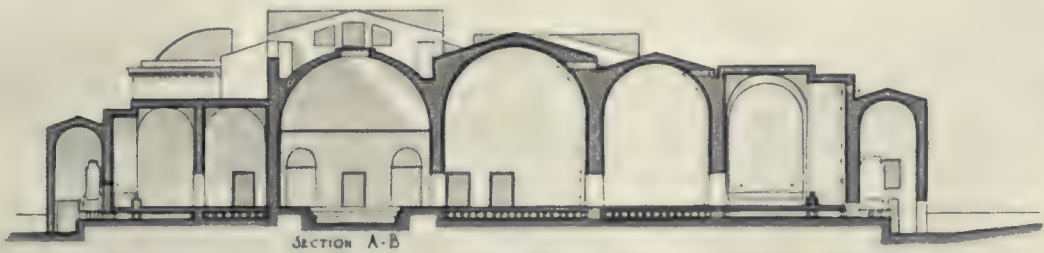




LARGE BATHS
HADRIAN'S VILLA

SCALE - 1 FOOT = 1/16 INCH
OVERALL LENGTH 100 FT





LARGE BATHS HADRIAN'S VILLA







1. View from the West.

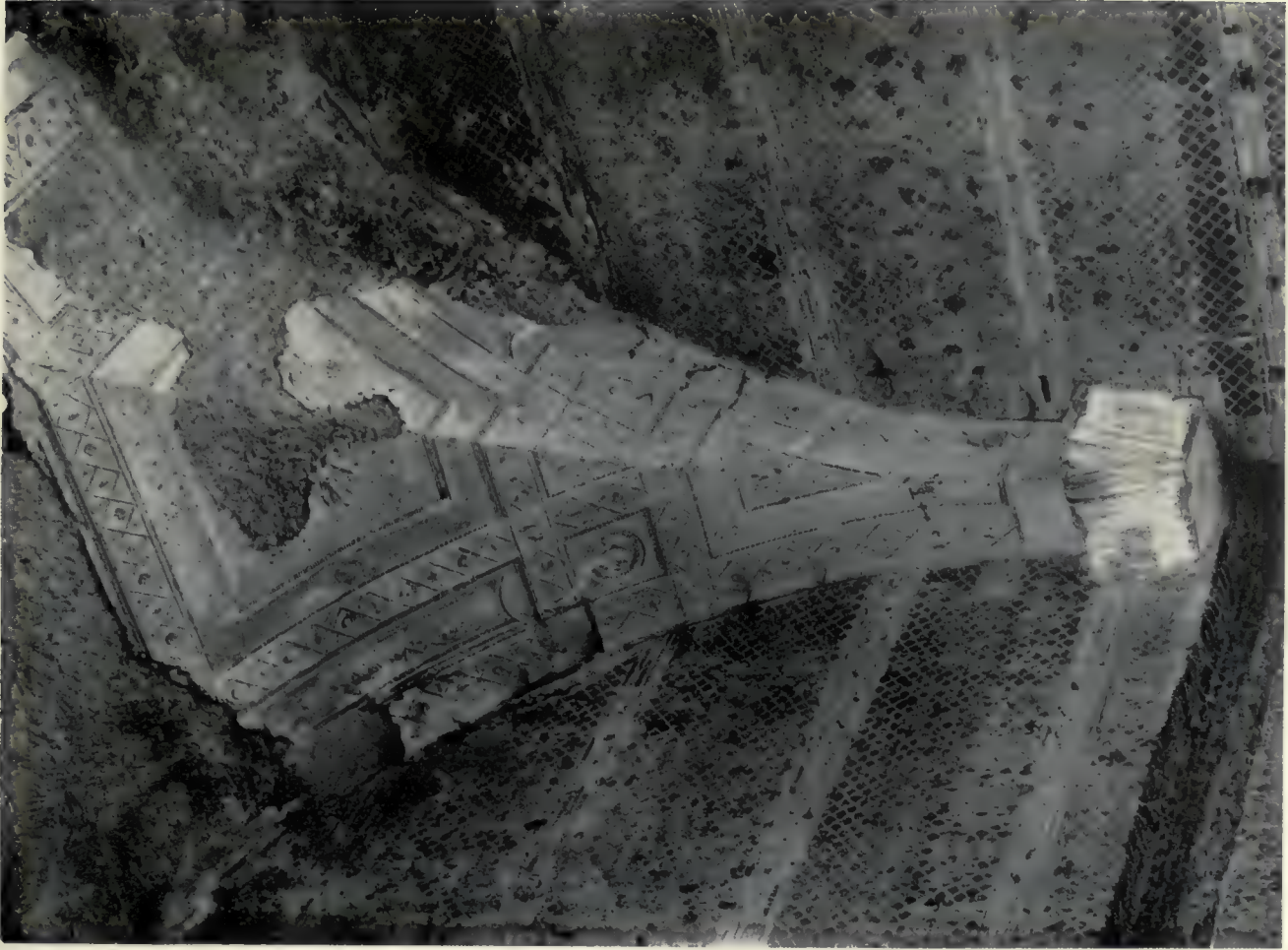


2. View from the East.

THE LARGE BATHS AT HADRIAN'S VILLA.



1. Vaulting of the Frigidarium.



2. Stucco Ceiling of the Aula.

THE LARGE BATHS AT HADRIAN'S VILLA.



1. Stucco Details.



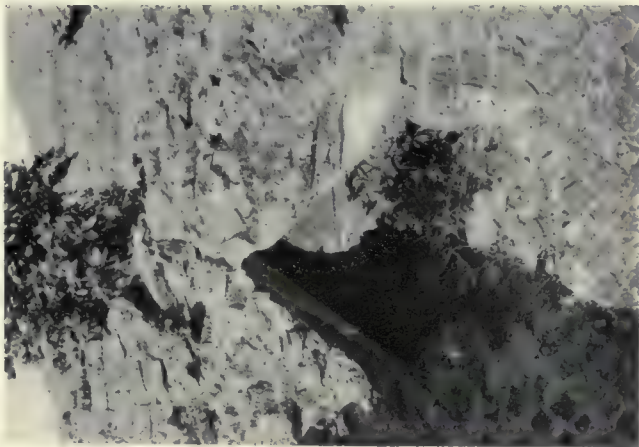
2. Marble Details.



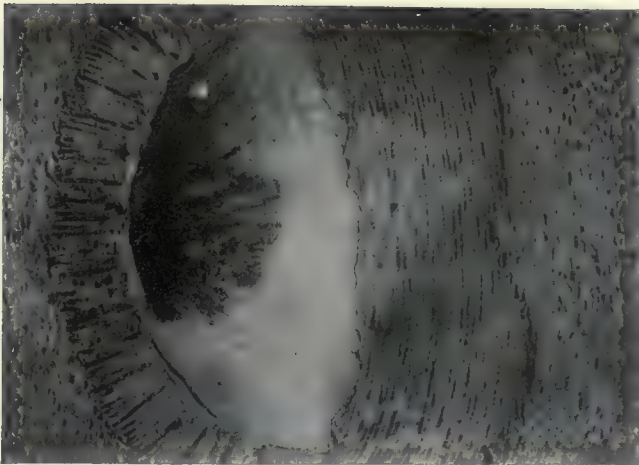
3. Ionic Capital.



4. Corinthian Capitals.

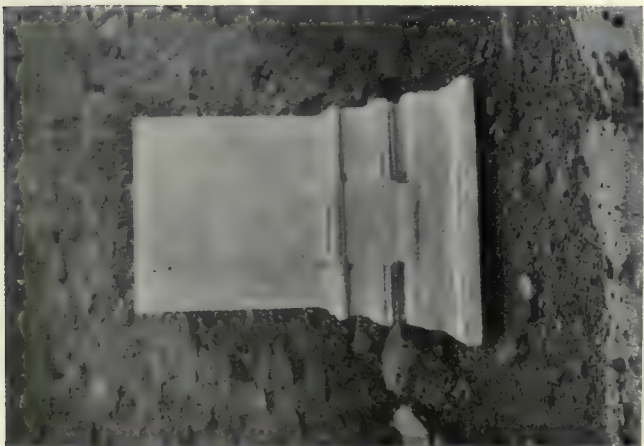


5. Air Vent.

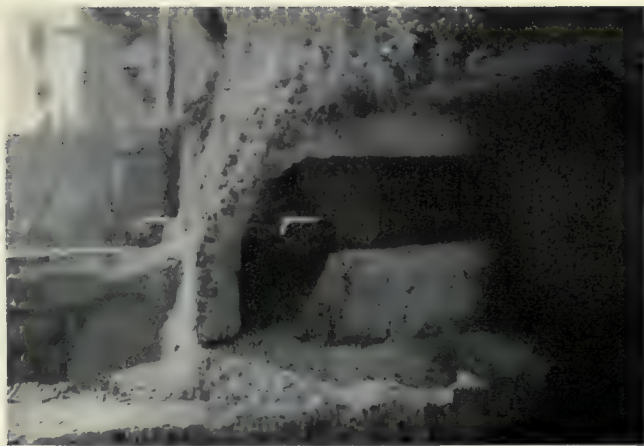


6. Niche.

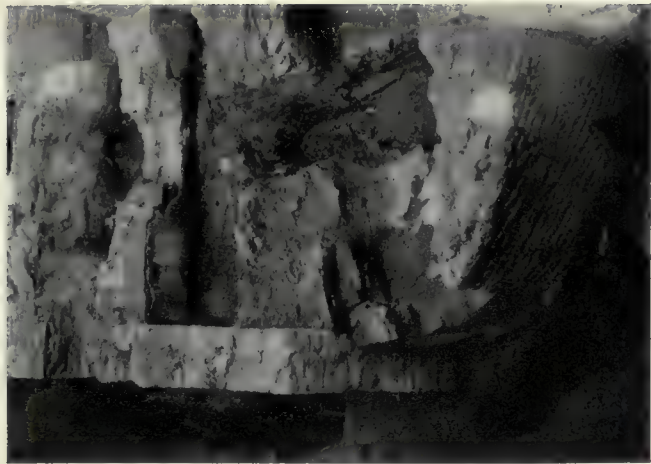




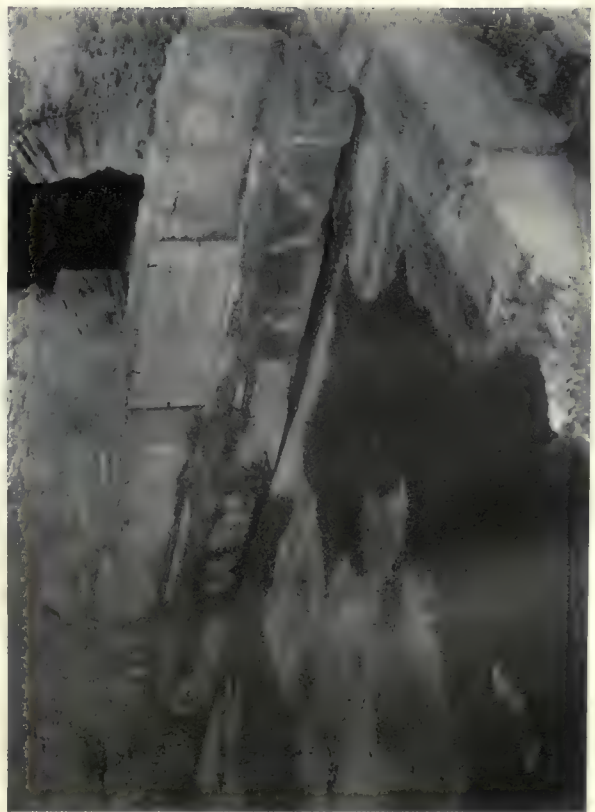
1. Window Mullion.



2. Service Passage.



3. Furnace.



4. Bathing Tubs.



5. Raised Floor and Furnace.

THE LARGE BATHS AT HADRIAN'S VILLA.

THE VESTIBULE GROUP AT HADRIAN'S VILLA.

WALTER LOUIS REICHARDT.

(PLATES 13-20).

AMONG the many structures which were erected at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli there is one group which merits more attention than the casual visitor would be likely to give it. Except for a few remaining walls, two large niches, and fragments of mosaic floors, very little is to be seen of this group, which has long been called « *Il Vestibulum* » or « The Vestibule Group ». It derives this title from the assumption that at one time its purpose was that of a large vestibule or foyer, a place where the inhabitants of the villa and their visitors met before going on to the adjacent baths or to the Valley of the Canopus. This latter, it should be remembered, served as the setting for the spectacular water pageants and mock sea battles with which the Emperors and their friends were amused, and consisted of a long pool of water terminating in a semi-circular cella, and flanked on both sides by tiers of seats.

A glance at the general plan of the villa will show that, according to the orientation, there are four distinct sections : naming these in the order in which they were built, they are (1) the Palace Group, (2) the Stadium Group, (3) the Canopus Group and (4) the Academy Group. Originally a road led from the main entrance of the villa, near the modern (?) bridge over the Anio, to the Palace Group. As each new group was added, the road was prolonged to give access to the group in question. Thus the second prolongation of the road connected the Canopus Group with the main entrance. It will be noted that the eastern portion of the Vestibule Group bears a definite relation to the Valley of the Canopus, being located on its axis. The western portion, consisting of a forecourt and temple, may have been erected later : for there are indications of a break in construction between this and the central part of the group. These are important considerations for the relative dates of these parts of the villa. As for the chronology, the Canopus Group is generally accepted as due to Hadrian himself, but erected toward the close of his reign.

With this preliminary information, one can understand better the interest that prompted me, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of my first year as a Fellow in Architecture in the American Academy in Rome, to undertake a restoration of the group as it might have appeared during the golden age of the Villa.

The existing walls of the ruin are sufficient to give an approximate idea as to the probable plan. The most noticeable remains are the two large niches on the north side. (see VIEW P on Plate 20). They undoubtedly flanked the wide flight of stairs which led up to the main entrance. Beyond this lay a court, with colonnades on all sides, evidence for which consists of brick columns and piers covered with stucco. The peculiarly rounded corner piers (see VIEW N on Pl. 19) are interesting in that they indicate that the architect had not overlooked the practical advantages of letting the crowds « cut corners » instead of making them walk around sharp corners. Opening off the circular portion of this court are the walls of a room that was possibly used for purposes of reception.

On the west side there are walls standing which enclose a U-shaped area called the West Court (see VIEW Q on Pl. 20) and a few others on a higher level that probably belong to a small temple. The odd shape of this area with niches on two of its sides and a temple between two pairs of niches on a third side makes it seem unlikely that this area was covered with a permanent roof, although it is possible that an awning may have been used. To the east of the Colonnaded Court are a few walls which enclose small rooms, and then there is merely earth until one reaches the two high brick walls which form the northern and southern boundaries, respectively, of the Men's and Women's Baths. VIEW M, on Pl. 19, shows the Colonnaded Court from this area.

While the western portion of this group of structures was fairly comprehensible, it was difficult to visualise the plan of the eastern portion of the group ; hence it was necessary to undertake a number of test digs in order to determine the relation of this area to the Colonnaded Court, and to solve a number of problems concerning this court and the small West Court. With the assistance of the Director of the American Academy in Rome, MR. GORHAM PHILLIPS STEVENS, who obtained the financial support as well as the necessary permits for excavations, I was able to choose the locations where excavations were to be undertaken. Owing to financial limitations, it was not possible to excavate the entire group. The digs were therefore limited to small areas where it was hoped that essential information would be found.

I will now describe the several digs, the portion and extent of which are indicated on the plan, Pl. 13 ; details are shown on Pls. 17-20.

DIG 1 was located on the axis of the Valley of the Canopus and was made in the expectation of finding remains of steps leading from the level of the promenade terrace to that of the vestibule group ; no evidence of such steps was found.

DIG 2 was undertaken in the hope of determining if there were steps from the eastern

structure leading down to the promenade terrace, but as VIEW A indicates, the broken vault of the tunnel below the arcade offered little information. However, there were slight traces of possible steps on the pavement of the promenade terrace.

DIG 3 was located at the base of the eastern niche, and the area in question was cleared of earth and débris until the level of the native soil was reached. VIEW B shows the lower portions of the eastern niche: it is likely that the semi-circular masonry at the base was a pool at one period, and that later some addition, or change, was made. The two side walls projecting from the bases of the two niche structures obviously served as the parapet walls of the main flight of stairs; no remains were found of the stairs themselves. I believe that this lack of evidence of the stairs can be explained on the supposition that they were removed at one time and replaced by another arrangement of stairs built over the pools at the bases of the niches, while the central space itself was converted into a pool. Sketches which I prepared of both arrangements demonstrated their feasibility; but the more adequate and dignified character of the central flight of stairs led me to adopt it on the restoration drawings.

DIG 4 was made to determine if there had been intermediate supports in the wide opening between the Colonnaded Court and the anteroom of the West Court, and if there was a difference in level between these two, but no indications of a column or pier base were found, nor of any difference in level.

DIG 5 was made to determine if there was any difference in level between the West Court and its ante-room; but the results were negative. Evidence of a floor mosaic was found, as VIEW D shows. This consisted of the impression left in its bed of mortar by a border of 5 in. (cm. 12.70) squares and by a field of 12 in. \times 24 in. (cm. 30.48 \times cm. 60.96) slabs laid in parallel rows; scanty fragments showed that the squares of the border consisted of white marble.

DIG 6 was made to determine if a small sacrificial altar might have been located in the center of the West Court; but no evidence was found for such an altar.

DIG 7 was made in the hope of discovering traces of the floor pavement in the West Court, but nothing was found except the rough rubble which had once served as the bed of such a pavement.

DIG 8 consisted in clearing up the area about the ruin of the small temple; in doing so, evidence for the side and rear walls of this temple was found. Nothing came to light of the steps which obviously led up to the temple or of the columns which undoubtedly supported the entablature and pediment. As VIEW C indicates, this structure proved to be in a highly ruinous condition and, hence, yielded little information. In the rubble floor were vestiges of a floor mosaic of white marble, consisting of a 3 in. (cm. 7.62) border, and an over-all pattern of $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. (cm. 22.23) squares separated by $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (cm. 1.60) black strips. Extending along the inside of the rear wall there was found a projecting platform

or ledge which was 33 in. (cm. 83.82) wide and 36 in. (cm. 91.44) high. Projecting from this was a smaller platform or ledge which was 13 in. (cm. 33.02) square and 13 in. (cm. 33.02) high. These two platforms were probably used as supports for small statues or for temple accessories. Evidence for the corners of the temple was found, and this indicated that the outer wall of the West Court continued around the back of the temple.

DIG 9 was made to determine if intermediate supports were used in the large opening between the Colonnaded Court and the large room at the south. A circular foundation wall was located here, as well as evidence for a column or pier base. This base centered on the radial line of one of the columns of the Colonnaded Court, as the restoration drawings indicate.

DIG 10 was made to determine the plan beyond the rounded corner pier of the Colonnaded Court. Two foundation walls were found, one following the curve of the semi-circular back wall and with evidence for column or pier bases, the other wall continuing straight across the court as VIEW E shows, but without evidence for column or pier bases having been located upon it. In the restoration the columns of the Colonnaded Court follow the semi-circular back wall. The possibility of another row of columns continuing straight across the court to the other corner pier is discarded; there are indications of similar arrangements in many of the large-scale works of the Romans, notably in the Forum of Augustus at Rome, but I feel that to have done this in a building of such relatively small scale would have appeared awkward and needlessly complicated.

DIGS 11 AND 12:

The result of DIG 11 was to locate the walls of the small room in the southeast corner of the Colonnaded Court and to find two column bases and a wall on the southern side of the eastern structure. VIEWS F AND G show these bases, which are of brick and 17 1/2 in. (cm. 44.45) in diameter. Column bases were also found in DIG 12 (see VIEW H), while evidence of still others was found in DIG 14 (see VIEW I). The distances between the centers of the several sets of bases agree with the distances between the windows in the vaults of the tunnel below, thus justifying the spacing of the outside colonnades of the eastern structure as indicated in the restoration.

DIG 13 located additional walls, and, combined with the indications of walls found in DIGS 11 AND 15, supplied evidence for establishing the center of the large area marked «East Hall.» This center falls on the axis of the Valley of the Canopus, thus indicating that the «East Hall» may originally have been planned in relation to the Valley of the Canopus.

DIG 14: see «DIGS 11 AND 12».

DIG 15 located additional walls and door openings, and the walls which were found indicated that the rooms on the east side of the «East Hall» were of the same size as those excavated some years ago on its west side. VIEW K shows one of the walls which

were found, as well as the evidence of an over-all herringbone floor pattern, which is shown to better advantage on the view on Pl. 19, Fig. 3. The slabs are approximately $9 \frac{5}{8}$ in. (cm. 24.46) \times $18 \frac{1}{2}$ in. (cm. 46.99), separated by a 1 in. (cm. 2.54) band consisting of 2 white outer strips and a black center strip. The moulded base of the wall is 3 in. (cm. 7.62) high and projects $2 \frac{1}{2}$ in. (cm. 6.35) from the wall.

VIEW L, at the eastern opening into the Colonnaded Court, shows a portion of the mosaic flooring that covered the floors of the small rooms at either side of the « East Hall », consisting of a field of hexagonal slabs $4 \frac{1}{2}$ in. (cm. 11.43) on a side, with a border of 6 in. (cm. 15.24) square slabs.

Near DIG 2, in the Colonnaded Court (see VIEW O), evidence was found for a pavement consisting of a $12 \frac{1}{2}$ in. (cm. 31.75) border composed of white marble tesserae and three 2 in. (cm. 5.08) bands composed of marble tesserae, the first and third being black while the intermediate band was white. Enclosed by the borders thus formed was a field of small white marble tesserae about 1 in. (cm. 2.54) square and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (cm. 1.27) thick (laid on side), with 1 in. (cm. 2.54) squares of colored marble scattered at random.

The system of handling the service of the villa by underground tunnels is in evidence here. VIEW A shows the arch opening into such a tunnel at the west of the promenade terrace. This tunnel continues under the entire length of the outer colonnade of the eastern building ; VIEW F shows one of the windows opening into the tunnel, which beyond this point is filled with débris, but which undoubtedly continues in a southerly direction to some other part of the Villa. Near DIG 14 a branch of this tunnel starts to follow in a easterly direction outside the south wall of the Women's Baths.

The existing walls of the group are of a uniform thickness of 23 in. (cm. 58.42), and consist of horizontal units of tufa similar to *opus reticulatum* and about 46 in. (cm. 116.84) in height, alternating with bands of coursed brick 8 in. (cm. 20.32) in height.

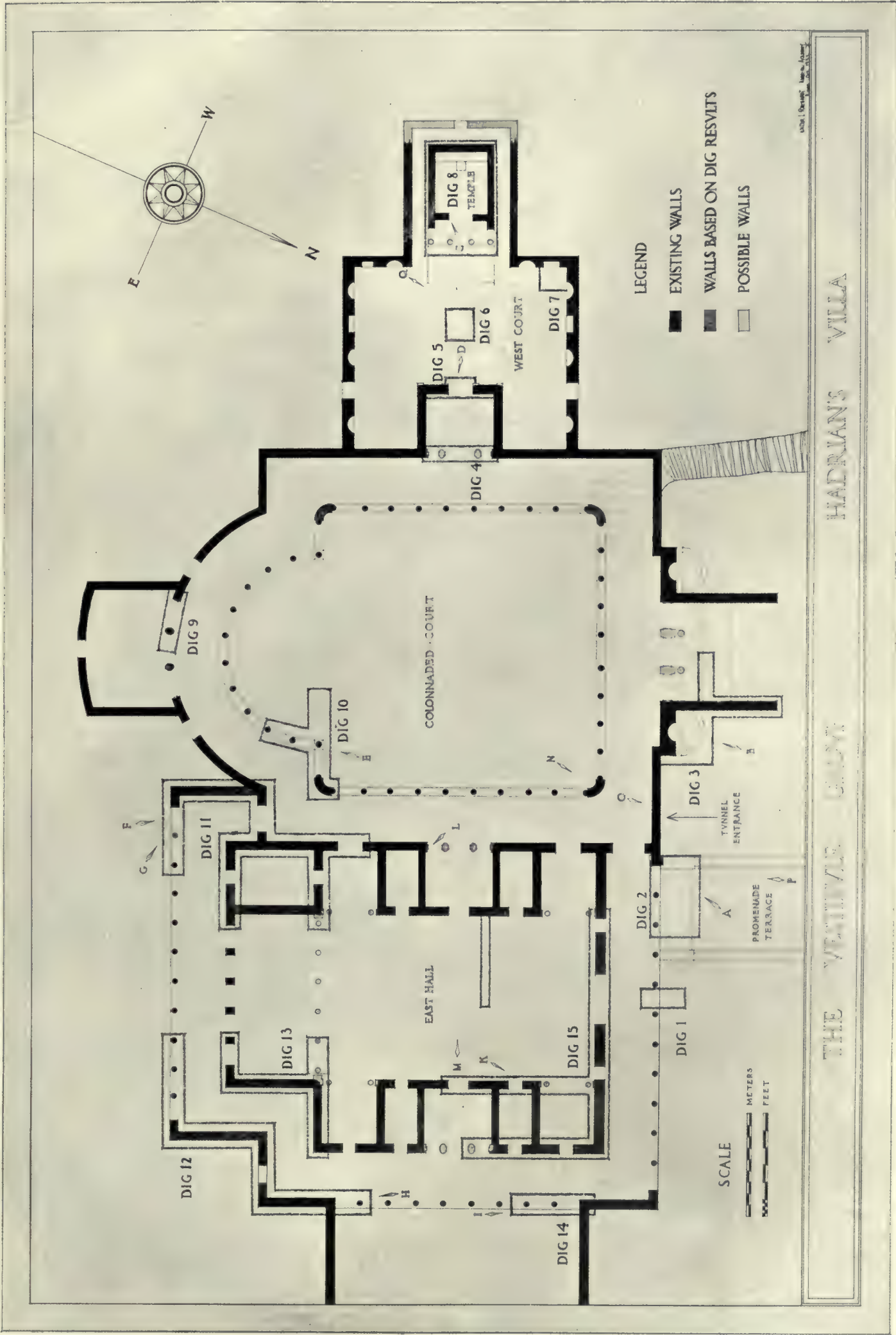
Traces of stucco are still visible on many of the walls, columns, and piers.

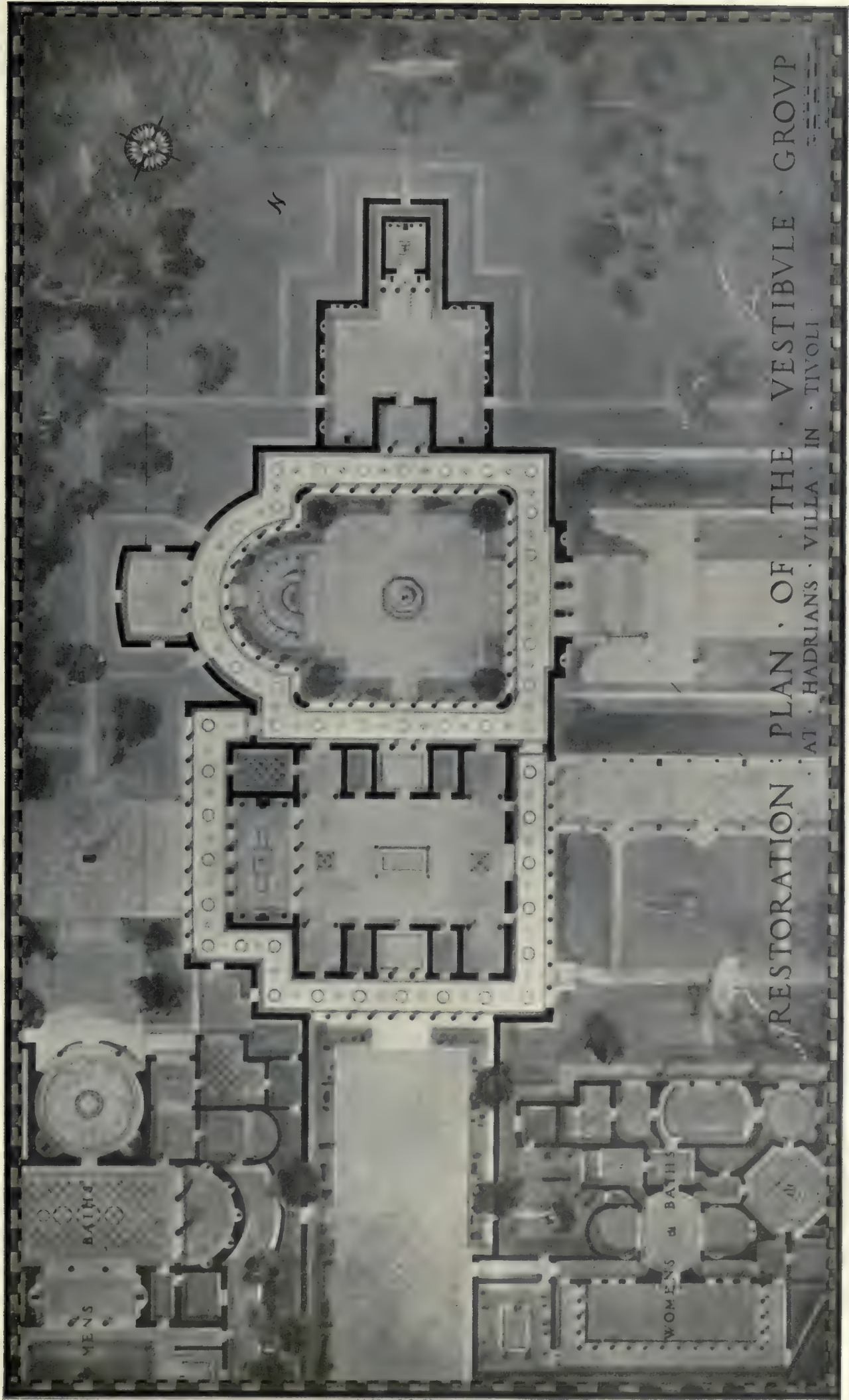
The restoration presented on Pls. 14-16 has been attempted with the hope of recovering something of the spirit of luxuriousness and splendor that must have distinguished the villa, and which one feels even today while walking about the ruins. The group has been given a monumental approach, consisting of a long tree-lined avenue leading to a wide flight of stairs, which, in turn, gives access through the entrance gateway to a colonnaded court. The latter serves as a vestibule and covered promenade. The walls and soffit of the porticos are decorated with colorful paintings and patterns : in the garden are many types of plants, and pools of water, and sculpture is used to embellish the whole.

To the west of this court is a smaller open-air court with side walls treated with niches filled with sculpture. To the west of this smaller court is a temple with steps leading to its high level, and with service approaches or exits on either side. To the east of the colonnaded court is a large double-storied hall which served as an indoor vestibule and

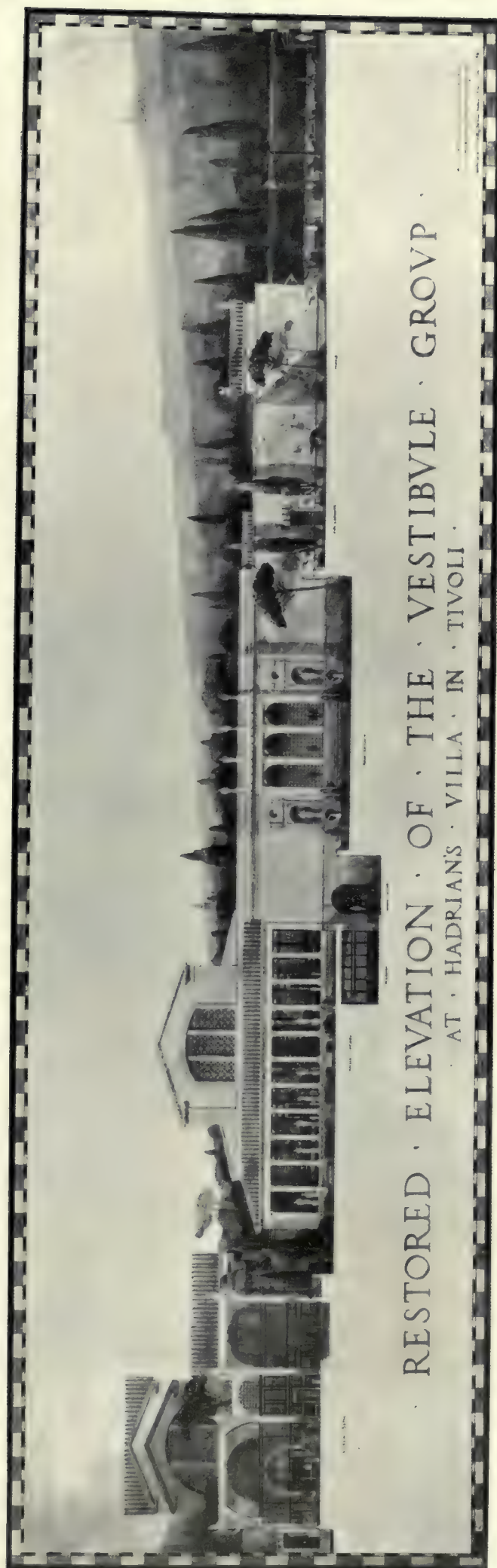
promenade in time of poor weather. The walls are architecturally treated with two superimposed orders, which frame the door openings as well as the clerestory windows above. The wall decorations consist of colored stuccoes and paintings. Sculpture is used in conjunction with the architectural screen across the southern end of the room. The ceiling consists of a series of open trusses with painted intermediate panels and applied metal ornaments. The porticoes on the three sides of this hall provide not only a place for sculpture but also an excellent means of circulation, as they eliminate the necessity of having to pass through the hall in order to go to the baths or to the Valley of the Canopus.

Since no evidence of architectural details or wall decorations could be found, I have relied upon publications dealing with the architecture and painting of the period, as well as upon personal observations made during my visits to ruins in Rome and Pompeii. The various orders, color schemes, and details of the group were chosen with the intention not only of satisfying my architectural taste, but also of attempting to re-create an ensemble that would best express the character and spirit of Hadrian's Villa.







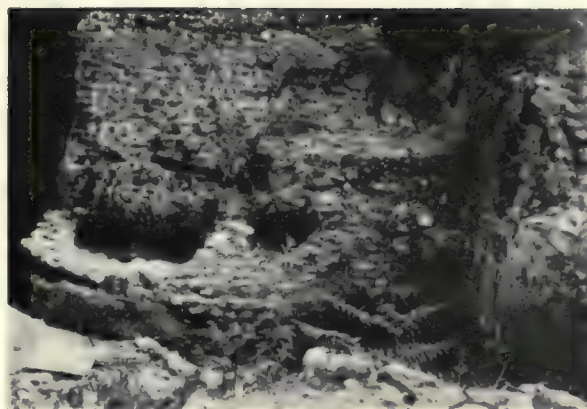




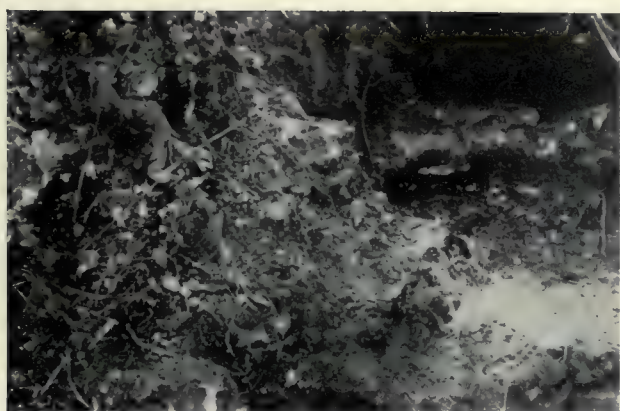




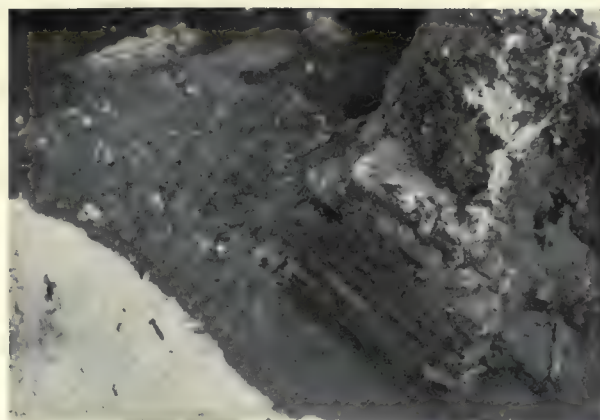
1. View A.



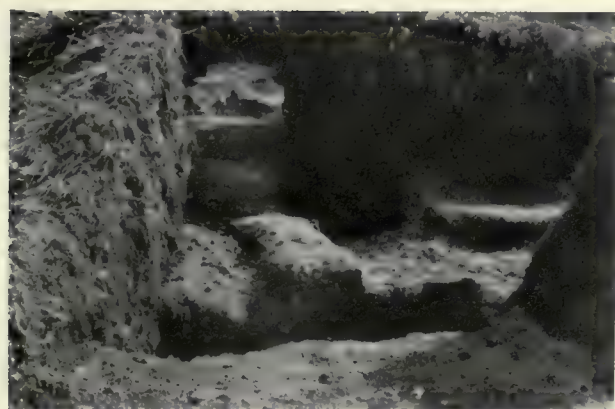
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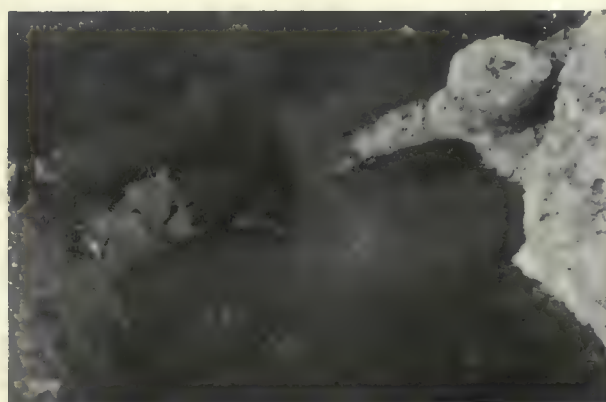
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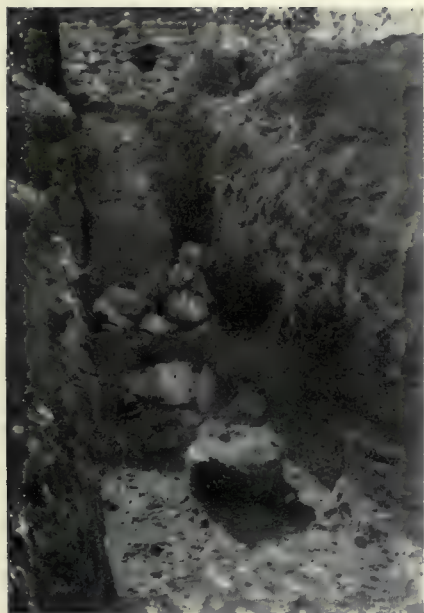
4. View D.



5. View E.



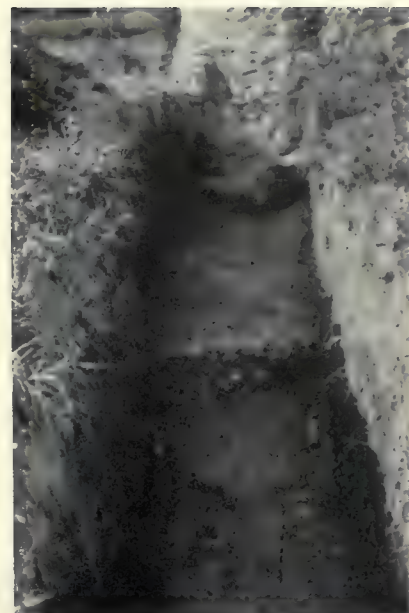
6. View F.



1. View G.



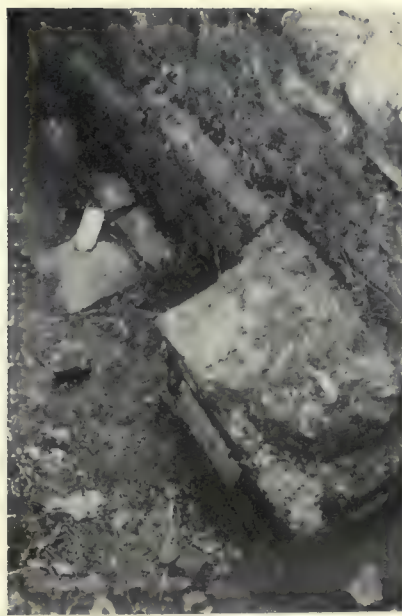
2. View H.



3. View I.



4. View K.



5. View L.



1. View M.



2. View N.



3. Pavement in East Hall.



4. View O.



1. View P.



2. View Q.

THE VESTIBULE GROUP AT HADRIAN'S VILLA.



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